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### FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Many thanks for the positive reactions to our inaugural edition. The current issue is devoted to the topic of measurement in the study of democracy and democratization. The pieces printed here were originally commissioned for the "APSA Task Force on Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators" organized by APSA President Henry Brady (2009–2010), and presented at a conference held at the University of California, Berkeley in October 2009.

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## MEASURING DEMOCRACY: FRAMING A NEEDED DEBATE

Gerardo L. Munck

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The measurement of democracy has become an important topic over the past twenty years. And, thanks to the efforts of many researchers, today we can use nearly global databases on democracy and its various dimensions. However, the work on the measurement of democracy is, in a certain way, just beginning.

The experience we have gained, as a community of scholars, has given us a good basis for arguing how democracy should and should not be measured. But it has also raised many issues that have not been adequately addressed and many challenges that still remain to be overcome.

In these comments I present some ideas about the measurement of democracy that I think deserve more attention than they have received. My aim is not to resolve the issues I discuss. Rather, I call attention to some common but problematic practices in the measurement of democracy with the aim of opening a debate. And I propose some ideas with the purpose of guiding this needed debate toward a key goal: the production of measures of democracy that are scientifically valid and that also enjoy a considerable degree of social consensus.

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## OVER TIME, ACROSS SPACE: REFLECTIONS ON THE PRODUCTION AND USAGE OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE DATA

Jan Teorell

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I have in this short essay assembled five disparate but interrelated reflections on the use of cross-national data on democracy, as well as governance broadly understood. These reflections stem in part from my experience as a user of such data, mostly, but not exclusively, in preparing my recent book on the determinants of democratization.<sup>1</sup> They are also drawn from my experience as a producer of governance data, a point to which I shall return. Last, but not least, my reflections are rooted in my experience from putting together the Quality of Government Dataset (QoG).<sup>2</sup> This dataset is a compilation of extant freely available datasets on governance or

1. Jan Teorell, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

2. Jan Teorell, Nicholas Charron, Marcus Samanni, Sören Holmberg & Bo Rothstein, "The Quality of Government Dataset," version 27May10. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, 2010. This dataset won the Lijphart, Przeworski, and Verba Award for Best Dataset by the APSA Comparative Politics Section at the 2009 Annual Meetings, and is freely available at: <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se>.

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## Articles

# LESSONS FROM THE DECODING AND CODING OF NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS

Zachary Elkins, Tom Ginsburg, and James Melton

*University of Texas, University of Chicago, and IMT Lucca*



In this essay, we provide an overview of the Comparative Constitutions Project (CCP), an ongoing endeavor to record the content of national constitutions, historical and contemporary, and explore a number of methodological issues regarding the construction of the data, and its validity and reliability. We reflect upon our experience and offer some modest suggestions for the adoption of shared standards in the documentation of measurement procedures and decisions.

### Why the CCP?

We began work on the Comparative Constitutions Project in 2005 with the goal of speaking more systematically and more comparatively about core political institutions and the processes that shape them. Our funding proposals articulated a set of research questions regarding the origins and consequences of constitutions as well as a concomitant (if fuzzier) goal of assisting would-be constitutional drafters. We released the first batch of the data last summer.

Our original motivations for assembling these data were basically threefold. First, we hoped to improve upon the conceptualization and measurement of a number of institutional features. In the realm of executive-legislative relations, for example, we (like others) wondered about the dominant role that the conceptual distinction between presidentialism and parliamentarism plays in comparative politics. Surely there are other ways to conceptualize the division of powers among the branches, and it seemed quite possible that any such competing conceptualizations would be orthogonal to presidentialism and parliamentarism.<sup>1</sup> Or maybe not – perhaps the presidentialism/parliamentarism distinction predicts (and, therefore, concisely summarizes) many other provisions with respect to executive legislative relations. One could ask the same thing about other institutional elements. For example, does judicial independence, at least that part of it captured by important indicators such

1. José Antonio Cheibub, Zachary Elkins, and Tom Ginsburg, “Beyond Presidentialism and Parliamentarism: On the Hybridization of Constitutional Form,” Manuscript.

*(continued on page 2)*

# POLITICAL COMMUNICATION, DEMOCRACIES AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Holli A. Semetko

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Election campaigns are high points for political communication in established democracies and societies in transition. The media remain the most common source for political information among citizens in countries around the world. At the heart of debates about the roles and responsibilities of the media are concerns about political bias in the media that may have consequences for public opinion, political behavior and, ultimately, electoral outcomes.

Many countries around the world with public service broadcasting systems require balance and impartiality in the reporting of politics and election campaigns, although in some it is a rule more honored in the breach. For those in the U.S. caught between the FOX-MSNBC crossfire, it may seem ironic that Canada's comparatively restrained Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) commissioned a study of balance in the news with data collection across Canadian television, radio, internet and print media, in response to concerns expressed by citizens and politicians.<sup>1</sup> Although problematic to define, balance remains an assumption behind allegations of political bias in the news and not only at election time. Political parties monitor media coverage closely and complain loudly when they perceive themselves to be accorded less prominent or less favorable coverage in comparison with their contenders.

### Citizens and Campaigns

Some of the earliest research on media and elections in the U.S. stemmed from a concern about media bias having a potentially outsized impact on attitudes and behavior, as in the extreme case of radio propaganda in Nazi Germany. Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues compared radio and press reporting on the presidential candidates in the 1940 U.S.

1. The News Balance Report can be found at : <http://www.cbc.ca/news/pdf/news-balance-interim-report-100601.pdf>. Accessed 1 December 2010.

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## FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD, CONTINUED

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For those interested in greater detail on the conference, including memos by several other authors, please visit: <http://sites.google.com/site/democracyaudit/overview>.

In the lead piece, Gerry Munck, well-known for his rigorous and important work on questions of variable construction and measurement validity, raises several concerns about how we measure democracy and presents a general framework for how to construct and evaluate measures.

In the second piece, Jan Teorell reflects on how to construct better time-series data. Teorell brings together his experience as the author of numerous time-series, cross-sectional studies on democratization, his expertise as a coder of original datasets, and his recent work on historical data to reflect

on how we can improve data collection to promote valid cross-national and historical comparisons.

The third piece, coauthored by Zachary Elkins, Tom Ginsburg, and James Melton, grows out of their award-winning 2009 book, *The Endurance of National Constitutions*. The project entailed the compilation of an ambitious global dataset of constitutional provisions. The authors present the nature and scope of their project as well as many practical lessons they learned in compiling the data.

Last but not least, Holli Semetko, an innovative and influential scholar on issues of mass communication and politics, discusses how new measures in recent work on the press and campaigning can and

should be better utilized in the study of democracy and democratization.



Finally, we wish to thank both Henry Brady and Michael Coppedge (the Chair of the Task Force) for giving us permission to publish a selection of memos for this issue. Thanks are also due to Gerry Munck who first proposed the idea of using the Brady Task Force memos to produce an edition of the newsletter. Look for our next issue sometime in the spring.

On behalf of the Editorial Committee,  
Michael Bernhard  
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## Munck, CONTINUED

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I draw on my ongoing work on the measurement of political concepts, which includes assessments of available measures, the development of measuring instruments, and the generation of new data.<sup>1</sup> And I organize my comments along the lines of the distinct tasks involved in the production of data on indicators and indices that I have distinguished in the methodological framework I have proposed and refined in the course of my research (see Table 1).

**Identification of Conceptual Dimensions.** Any attempt at measurement must start by asking and answering the question, “What is democracy?” And a good starting point for responding to this question is the growing consensus that, at the very least, democracy consists of those

elements highlighted in a Schumpeterian minimalist conception of democracy. Of course, a minimalist conception of democracy focuses only on basic questions concerning the formation of government—Who has the right to vote? Is the voting process devoid of violence and fraud? Are multiple candidates allowed to run for office? And, do the winners of elections hold office during their mandated term? Thus, a minimalist conception captures only part of the meaning of democracy and should be seen as providing a conceptual anchor for measures of electoral democracy rather than democracy *tout court*. But a minimalist conception does serve to structure the debate. Indeed, taking a minimalist conception as a point of departure, the question, “What is democracy?” can be reformulated helpfully as follows: 1) What elements, besides those identified in a minimalist

conception of democracy, are part of democracy? 2) What elements, though closely related to democracy, are not part of the concept of democracy?

The recent literature offers a range of quite disparate proposals to go beyond a minimalist conception of democracy. In broad strokes, some proposals—especially those that find inspiration in Dahl’s theory of democracy—are consistent with a Schumpeterian focus on process. These proposals place emphasis on rights that pertain directly to the electoral process—for example, freedom of the press; freedom of expression; and freedom of association, assembly and movement—but also on the agenda setting power of democratic authorities and, specifically, on the distorting role of money and of countermajoritarian institutions. In contrast, other proposals go beyond a focus on process and include outcomes—

1. Gerardo L. Munck, *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge Between Scholarship and Politics* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

TABLE 1—A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRODUCTION AND EVALUATION OF DATA ON INDICATORS AND INDICES

Index Construction Stage	Task	Key Question	Assessment Criteria
Overarching Concept	Identification of Conceptual Dimensions	Are different dimensions of the <i>overarching concept</i> to be measured identified? If so, what are these conceptual dimensions and how are they formulated?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification, in light of theory, of a mutually exclusive and jointly exhaustive set of conceptual dimensions</li> <li>• Avoidance of extraneous conceptual dimensions, that is, conceptual dimensions of a different overarching concept</li> </ul>
	Selection of Indicators	What indicators are selected to measure each conceptual dimension? How do the indicators connect to each conceptual dimension?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selection of mutually exclusive and jointly exhaustive indicators, linked to each conceptual dimension</li> <li>• Avoidance of extraneous indicators, that is, indicators of a different conceptual dimension or a different concept</li> </ul>
Data on Indicators	Design of Indicator Scales	How are the scales designed so as to distinguish the possible values of each indicator?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indicator scales that are consistent with the concept being measured</li> <li>• Indicator scales that offer as much nuance (as many distinctions) as is justified</li> </ul>
	Assignment of Values to Indicators	How are values assigned to each indicator?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of a method for assigning values to indicators that is replicable and that generates reliable and valid measures</li> </ul>
	Choice of Rescaling Rule	If the original indicator scales (that is, those used to collect the raw data) are rescaled, what rescaling rule is used? What rule is used to normalize the indicator scales, that is, ensure that all indicators are measured with the same unit? Is any other transformation of the original indicator scales carried out?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theoretically-justified rules</li> <li>• Robustness of the data to changes in rule, and replicability of the procedures</li> </ul>
	Choice of Weighting Rule	What weight is assigned to each indicator?	What weight is assigned to each indicator?
	Choice of Aggregation Rule	What is the relationship among the indicators being aggregated?	What is the relationship among the indicators being aggregated?
Data on Indices			

e.g., property rights, human rights—in a definition of democracy. This more expansive approach is common among those who see democracy and liberal constitutionalism as intricately linked. However, drawing on a different understanding of democracy, the same conceptual move is made by those who argue for including social rights, that is, Isaiah Berlin's positive as opposed to negative freedoms, within a definition of democracy. These conceptual questions—prime examples of the need for, and value of, collaboration between political theorists and empirical researchers—are hard to resolve yet simply cannot be ignored in work on the measurement of democracy.

**Selection of Indicators.** Turning to the second task in the measurement of democracy, the selection of indicators,

several questions deserve attention. Are indicators spelled out in terms of observables, that is, information that can be verified in an objective manner? Is the meaning of indicators equivalent across contexts? Does each indicator measure one and only one conceptual dimension or attribute? If more than one indicator could be used to measure a certain conceptual dimension or attribute, should multiple indicators be used or is one indicator preferable to others? These questions are rarely addressed. Moreover, tests of indicators that would get at these questions have not been used as inputs in the selection of indicators. Thus, much can be done to improve on what has been a largely intuitive approach to the selection of indicators.

However, probably the central

problem in the selection of indicators to measure democracy has been the failure to develop indicators that tap into the full meaning of the concept of democracy.<sup>2</sup> This problem is evident in Dahl's influential proposal about indicators: most patently, though Dahl's concept of democracy extends through the decision-making process, the indicators he selects to measure democracy are centered entirely on the electoral process.<sup>3</sup> And a similar mismatch between the concept and indicators of democracy affects most measures of democracy. Thus, to avoid what can be thought of as a problem akin to omitted variable bias in regression analysis, more work needs to be done to figure out just how some hard-to-measure dimensions of democracy can be measured and to include the newly developed indicators—even if they are far from ideal—in measures of democracy. Indeed, it is better to include imperfect indicators in a measure of democracy than to entirely disregard part of the meaning of democracy.<sup>4</sup>

**Design of Indicator Scales.** The design of measurement scales for each indicator, the next task in the development of measures, has been the subject of some discussion. Advocates of continuous measures argue that we are in a position to make distinctions that are more nuanced and informative than simple dichotomous scales, which is undoubtedly true. In turn, advocates of dichotomous measures point out that the proposed continuous scales usually do not offer a basis for

2. The opposite problem—the inclusion of extraneous indicators—is less of a problem in the measurement of democracy than in the measurement of other concepts, such as corruption.

3. Compare Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), Chapter 8 and 221–22.

4. Kenneth A. Bollen, "Indicator: Methodology," in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2001), 7283.



distinguishing among cases that meet and do not meet democratic standards, which is also undoubtedly true. After all, many continuous scales used in the measurement of democracy simply sidestep the challenge of specifying the standard that would make a case democratic, frequently relying on little more than a scale that distinguishes among “degrees of democracy” in terms of Likert-type scales.

But, unfortunately, this discussion about the appropriate level of measurement has revolved around a false choice between dichotomous and continuous scales that has obscured a central issue. Indeed, not much work has focused on the challenge of developing nuanced scales that go beyond dichotomies and that also identify the critical threshold separating democratic and non-democratic cases. Muddling matters further, some proposals to measure democracy and some measures of democracy explicitly posit different standards to assess different cases. Thus, the design of indicator scales will have to be tackled in a more self-conscious manner if measures of democracy are to be used to distinguish countries that meet democratic standards from those that do not, and also to distinguish countries in terms of their degree or level of democracy, two basic uses of measures of democracy.

**Assignment of Values to Indicators.** Turning to the fourth task in the production of data, a conclusion that emerges from a consideration of available measures of democracy is that they have largely relied on one of two methods of assigning values to indicators: mass surveys (some measures of democracy do rely on surveys of experts, however) and expert ratings. Thus, it is important to assess and compare the uses of these two methods.

With regard to mass surveys,

an important strength is the use of established sampling techniques and the collection of individual level data. Another important strength of survey data, that is especially relevant when data are used in the context of democracy audits and assessments, is that despite being usually classified as subjective as opposed to objective data, these data are widely perceived as conveying the voice of the people and hence as legitimate. Nonetheless, most available survey data on democracy do not offer a solid basis for ascertaining how democratic a country is, a basic requirement of measures of democracy.

The problem is that most mass surveys simply ask respondents a question such as “In your opinion, how democratic is country x today?” and offer response options such as “country x is... not a democracy, somewhat democratic, very democratic, a full democracy.” That is, some notable attempts to address the complexity of measuring democracy excepted, survey designers largely do not assume the burden of defining democracy, disaggregating democracy into various dimensions, developing indicators for each dimension of democracy, and spelling out how levels of democraticness are to be distinguished. Much of the data generated through mass surveys combine the views of respondents who conceive of democracy in different terms and have different standards of assessment and, as a result, are hard to interpret in a theoretically coherent and clear manner. To fully take advantage of the potential of mass surveys, survey researchers need to do more to explicitly address the three tasks discussed above: the identification of conceptual dimensions, the selection of indicators, and the design of indicator scales.<sup>5</sup>

5. For insightful suggestions for dealings with some

Measures of democracy based on expert ratings, the other main method of assigning values to indicators, have some potential advantages in comparison with measures based on mass surveys. First, expert rater data can incorporate a large amount of information drawn from an array of sources, such as constitutional-legal texts, official administrative records, the mass media, secondary sources, and even expert surveys (e.g. the questionnaires filled out by election observers). Second, expert rater data can be generated for the purpose of historical analysis and can be revised in light of new information. Third, the generation of expert rater data can rely on a dialogue in which the different appreciations of experts can be discussed and possibly resolved, a quite unique feature.

Nonetheless, many existing measures based on expert ratings are seriously deficient. Though most expert measures of democracy rely on an explicit definition of democracy, which is disaggregated into distinct conceptual dimensions, and a set of indicators formally linked with distinct conceptual dimensions of democracy, some of these measures are produced using less than fully elaborated measuring instruments. Some of these measures use indicator scales that consist of nothing more than a set of ordered points. In addition, many of these measures do little to get around charges of arbitrariness. Indeed, a lot more could be done to ensure that coding rules are explicit, that coding decisions are based on observables that are adequately documented, and that the coding process does include a dialogue among experts from different backgrounds and/or an explicit test of intercoder reliability. In short, though

of these issues, see Michael Bratton, “Anchoring the ‘D-Word’ in Africa,” *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, No. 4 (2010): 106-13.

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expert ratings are a versatile and defensible method to generate data on democracy, this method has usually not been applied with the required degree of rigor.

**The Aggregation Process: Rescaling, Weighting and Aggregation.** Finally, turning to the process of aggregating the values of indicators of democracy to form a democracy index, it is critical to stress as a first consideration that most theoretical approaches to the concept of democracy emphasize its multidimensionality and, furthermore, suggest that the key dimensions of democracy are parts of a whole (e.g. Dahl posits that participation and contestation are two necessary dimensions of democracy). Hence, i) it is theoretically advisable to measure democracy through an index rather than a set of indicators, and ii) in approaching the construction of an index, it is theoretically questionable to insist on the standard advice to conduct a dimensionality test to ascertain whether data on multiple indicators can be aggregated without loss of information—the usual assumption that aggregation operates on multiple parallel measures is simply not made. The critical issue in the construction of democracy indices, then, is not whether an index should be constructed but how to construct a democracy index.

With regard to the key process of aggregation—it is hard to overemphasize its importance—the fundamental criterion to keep in mind is that aggregation should be based on theoretical assumptions and empirical tests. With rare exceptions, however, the process of aggregation used in current democracy indices lacks a firm justification. Issues of rescaling, and in particular the problem of the *numeraire*, that is, the compatibility of the units of the scales of the different indicators, are

simply ignored. Moreover, though the choice of weighting and aggregation rule is usually theory- rather than data-driven, a wise choice, the theory invoked to justify the weighting and aggregation decisions is frequently superficial and occasionally improperly formalized. In the end, the safety of default options, such as the assignment of equal weight to each indicator and the aggregation of indicators with an additive rule, appears to be an overriding consideration. Finally, index creators or users frequently resort to a patently post hoc and ad hoc identification of a threshold that divides democratic from non-democratic cases. Thus, it is no surprise that the values of commonly used democracy indices are not precisely interpretable in terms of the concept of democracy.

The choices made in the process of aggregation are also rarely subjected to robustness tests and sometimes robustness tests are not even possible! This is the case of several expert rater measures for which data on each indicator were not systematically produced; apparently the indicators were used as guides but coding was conducted not at the level of indicators but instead directly at the level of the aggregate index. An inescapable conclusion is that the need to rely explicitly on theory in the choices involved in producing an index, and to bring empirical tests to bear on these choices, has not been recognized by the producers of most democracy indices.

A lot of progress has been made on the measurement of democracy. Today we have a variety of databases on democracy and its various dimensions. However, the producers of many commonly used measures of democracy have not adequately addressed many of the central issues in the measurement of democracy. In turn, many analyses of

measures of democracy adopt an overly narrow understanding of the potential sources of measurement error. Therefore, it is important to launch a debate about the current state of knowledge about the measurement of democracy and to try to develop greater consensus about how to produce measures of democracy that are more valid than those that are commonly used these days.

With the purpose of framing this debate, I have identified the central issues in measurement methodology that deserve to be considered and the various challenges that must be overcome if we are to produce better measures of democracy. These issues and challenges are complex. But, in broad terms, I have sought to highlight three basic points, that is, that progress in the work on measuring democracy will require: i) an explicit consideration of the *full set of methodological choices* that go into the production of data and the treatment of the multiple parts of measuring instruments as parts of a whole, ii) a greater emphasis on articulating the *theories* that justify each methodological choice, and iii) a greater reliance—at the stage of design of the measuring instrument and not just as an afterthought—on *empirical tests* that give us a sense of how much confidence we can put in the theory behind each methodological choice. If we do not keep these basic points in mind, we shall be condemned to perpetuate the problems that currently affect measures of democracy.

The production of measures of democracy that are more scientifically valid than those commonly used these days, and that also enjoy a considerable degree of social consensus, will not be an easy task. Indeed, reflecting upon the evolution of comparative politics over the past four decades, Dahl notes that “it’s appalling that at this late date

we are still struggling with how to conceptualize and measure democracy.”<sup>6</sup> And, given that the reason for this lack of progress in the measurement of democracy is not obvious, it is not possible to state with much confidence that Dahl’s assessment will have to be revised in the near future. But it is not unreasonable to think that a new phenomenon—the growing attention given to measures of democracy, both in academic and political circles, during the past 20 years—will generate an impetus to tackle this challenge in a productive manner in the years ahead and that at least some important steps will be taken toward the goal of counting with rigorous and broadly accepted measures of democracy.

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## Teorell, CONTINUED

(continued from page 1)

“quality of government” (among other things), both in a cross-sectional and a time-series cross-sectional format (since 1946). Putting together this data entailed a blending of the user and producer perspectives. None of the data in QoG is new to the field; its value added lies in compilation and its availability in one place.

My first two reflections concern the need for comparisons over time; the following three pertain to comparisons across space. First, it is critically important that cross-national governance data cover a **long historical time span**. This in part stems from the nature of the phenomena I have been most interested in studying, such as democracy and corruption. Democracy, we know by now, is a sticky phenomenon. Countries ruled democratically are likely to continue under democratic rule. Regime change does occur, however, most commonly by a sudden swing of the pendulum whether in a more democratic direction or in an unexpected reversal. Other (but, I believe, fewer) countries experience more gradual change, with their level of democracy inching up (or down) incrementally. Since the nature and timing of these fairly rare *changes* in level of democracy are what we want to explain (or study the consequences of), purely cross-sectional data on democracy have become close to useless for anything other than simple descriptive purposes.<sup>3</sup>

Basically the same argument applies for corruption. Although we do not

know for sure, due to the lack of such historical data, anecdotal/qualitative evidence suggests that corruption is even stickier than democracy. From the little we know, the curbing of corruption has only been successful in a handful of cases and, in most instances, seems to have been a slow reform process taking at least a decade, or even several decades.<sup>4</sup> There are few known examples of shocks or pendulum-like moves in corruption levels. I would thus argue that there is even more need for long time-series data on corruption levels, although (paradoxically) the extant data sources are by and large purely cross-sectional by nature.

I would press the deep need for long-term historical data on democracy and corruption even to the point of **sacrificing cross-national measurement equivalence**. That is, I would prefer having inter-temporal data on, say, corruption levels over the last 200 years for a handful of countries where we are pretty sure substantial change has occurred – even if these data were produced in a way that excluded cross-country comparisons. This is my second argument. We have become accustomed to thinking about compiling cross-national measures first, and only then about constructing time-series data of these measures. I think the field of governance indicators might need to reverse that order of priority.

To give a concrete example of what this might imply, I am presently collecting data on electoral fraud in the history of Sweden, from 1719 till around 1909, using a largely unexplored source: petitions against alleged fraud and misconduct filed with

6. Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 145.

3. For a similar argument, see Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt, “The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond,” *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (August/September 2010): 931–968.

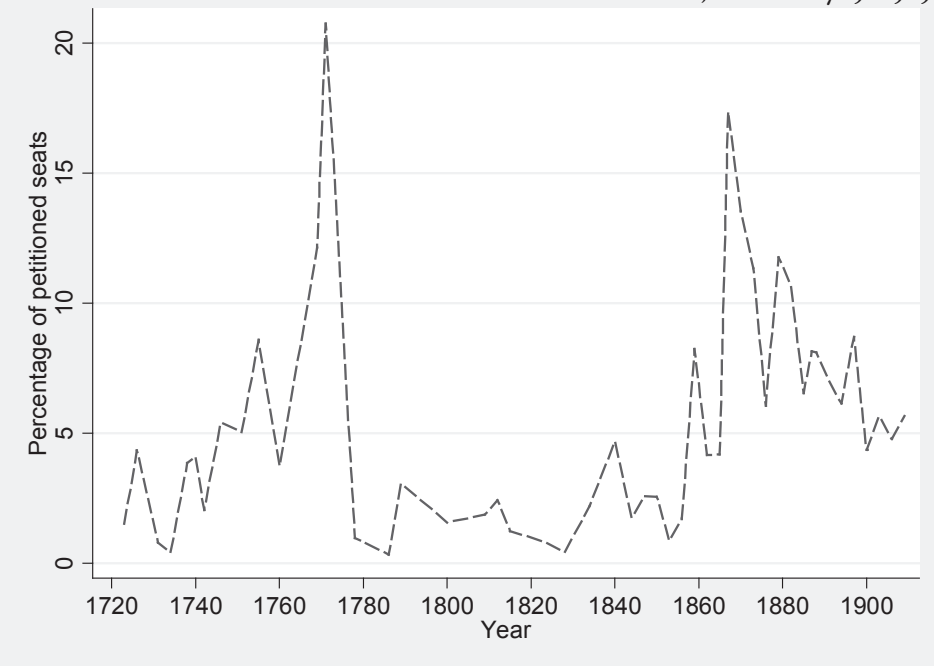
4. Seppo Tiihonen, ed., *The History of Corruption in Central Government*. (Amsterdam:IOS Press, 2003); Bo Rothstein, *The Quality of Government: The Political Economy of Corruption, Social Trust and Inequality in an International Comparative Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

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the authorities. Figure 1 displays the percentages of elected seats in the Diet of Estates, or from 1866 the Lower House of the Bicameral Parliament, for which there was a petition filed to the highest appellate authority. As can be seen, the number of petitioned seats increased gradually during the so-called "Age of Liberty" in 18th century Sweden, and then virtually exploded during its final eclipse: the election of 1771, the year before king Gustavus III established despotic rule through a military-backed coup. Petitions then became relatively uncommon until the last elections of the Diet of Estates when they increased gradually, peaking again in 1866, the first election to the Bicameral parliament. The final decades of the 19th century display short-term fluctuations around a slowly dissipating trend in the frequency of petitions.

Similarly long time-series of data on election petitions have in other projects been collected from Costa Rica, Britain, Imperial Germany, the US and France.<sup>5</sup> I believe each of these series in and of themselves, if contextualized and interpreted carefully with respect to the types of allegations advanced and the evidence surrounding them, can tell a large part of the story of how election fraud has waxed and waned over the course of history in each of these countries. Both the particular circumstances favoring fraud, and the specific conditions that helped abolish it, could thus, I believe, be tracked on a country-by-country basis. I would however be very skeptical about pooling these time-series together and treating

FIGURE 1—THE SHARE OF PETITIONED PARLIAMENTARY SEATS, SWEDEN 1719–1909



them as a comparable measure of fraud. The institutional circumstances under which petitions could be filed, the nature of judicial or other bodies receiving and deciding upon them, and the laws governing electoral conduct, simply vary too much even among this small set of countries for any valid comparison of fraud across countries. I do however believe that meaningful comparisons could be attempted across time (and, at the sub-national level, across space) within each country, which brings me back to the point: inter-temporal measurement equivalence is sometimes more important than cross-sectional equivalence.

The same argument may apply to other dimensions of governance. Corruption could, for example, be studied historically through the prosecution and conviction of public officials. Although by no means unproblematic (the potentially biggest challenge being how to separate the extent of corruption from the effectiveness of the legal system), this could allow meaningful long-term time-

series data on historical trajectories of corruption levels hitherto unexplored within the social sciences. I would again doubt however, that meaningful cross-national comparisons could be made using such sources of data.

At the risk of contradicting myself, I now turn to a source of governance data that does not allow for long time-series to be extended back in time, namely expert polls. Although this is the standard data source on governance indicators today, a recent experiment with collecting such data has convinced me that, if preceded by **careful conceptualization**, still has some largely untapped potential. This is my third argument. I am probably not alone in thinking that the main problem with extant expert poll data on governance such as the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), apart from its almost exclusive reliance on perceptions rather than experience, is its poor conceptual foundations. In the numerous papers written by Kaufmann and co-authors in defense of their approach,<sup>6</sup> there are two queries I have

5. Fabrice Lehoucq and Iván Molina, *Stuffing the Ballot Box: Fraud, Electoral Reform, and Democratization in Costa Rica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Daniel Ziblatt, "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany," *American Political Science Review* 103 (February 2009): 1–21; Jeffery Jenkins, "Partisanship and Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives, 1789–2002," *Studies in American Political Development* 18 (October 2004): 112–135; Jean Charnay, *Les Scrutins Politiques en France de 1815 à 1962: Contestations et Invalidations*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1964).



never seen addressed satisfactorily: first, what are the conceptual underpinnings underlying constructs such as “voice and accountability,” “rule of law,” and “government effectiveness;” and second, is there any empirical evidence showing that the indicators sorted under each of these headings really tap into those constructs and not others? This is not to say that these data are useless. On the contrary, they are extremely useful (and I use them a lot). I just believe they are not well anchored in theory, and I still have not seen any convincing evidence that the six dimensions of the WGI are what would come out of a dimensional analysis performed on the disaggregated indicators.

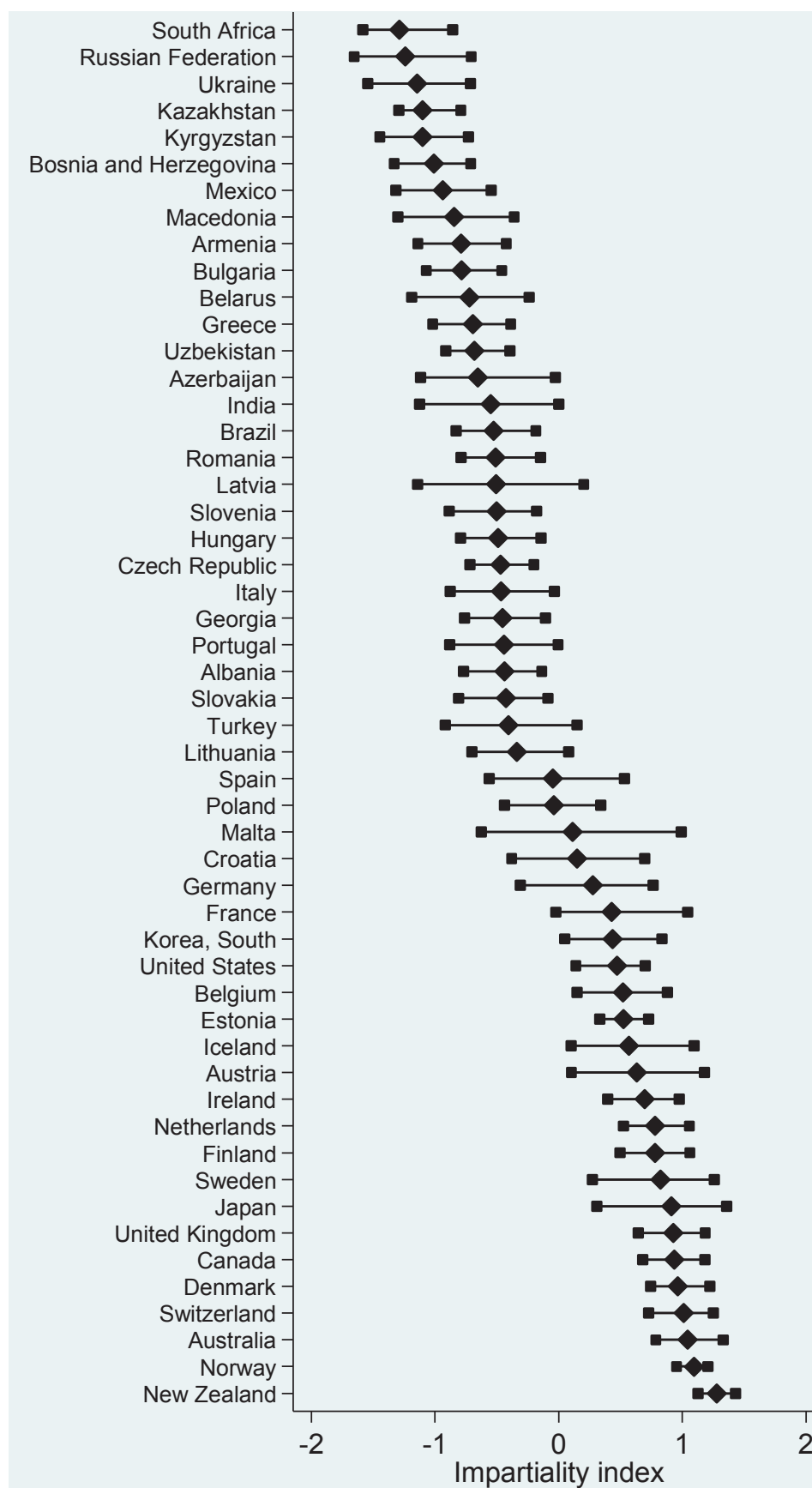
In part as a response to this, we decided at the Quality of Government Institute to craft an expert survey of our own. Its purpose was to produce novel and theory-driven data on the structure and performance of the public administration in a cross-section of countries. In order to obtain a sample of experts we drew up a list of scholars, the majority of which were registered with four international public administration networks.<sup>7</sup> This yielded 1361 experts, whom we contacted by email between September 2008 and May 2009. A clickable link inside the email leads to the web-based questionnaire in English where 529 experts (39 percent of the sample) from 58 countries responded, with an average response time of about 15 minutes.<sup>8</sup> Not very surprisingly, considering the sampling frame, the selection of countries was heavily geared towards Western European and Post-

6. See, e.g., Daniel Kaufmann, Art Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi, “Governance Matters VIII: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators for 1996–2008,” *World Bank Policy Research Paper No. 4978*, 2009.

7. These were the Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee), the European Group for Public Administration (EGPA), the European Institute of Public Administration, and the Structure and Organization of Government Committee of the International Political Science Association (SOG).

8. The data has already been made publically available on the web: [www.qog.pol.gu.se](http://www.qog.pol.gu.se).

FIGURE 2—AN INDEX OF GOVERNMENT IMPARTIALITY



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Communist countries. We are thus at the moment involved in a second round of data collection in order to expand the sample into the developing world.

This collection of data can be used for many purposes, but here I will give one example of its usage in order to illustrate the critical importance of conceptualization. If political equality is the basic norm underlying the *input* side of a democratic political system, then impartiality is the analogous norm on the *output* side. We define impartiality as “when implementing laws and policies, government officials shall not take into consideration anything about the citizen/case that is not beforehand stipulated in the policy or the law.” This embodies the normative democratic principle of treating everyone with equal concern and respect.<sup>9</sup> In a recent paper, I employed an index of government impartiality assembled from five indicators from the expert poll specifically designed to tap into this very concept. The point estimates of this factor index (which thus by construction has a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1) are shown in Figure 2, together with bootstrap estimates of the 95 percent confidence intervals by country.<sup>10</sup>

As can be seen, the impartiality index varies widely across countries. The countries perceived as having the least impartial public administrations are South Africa, Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, whereas the most impartial ones are located in Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Norway and New Zealand. As the confidence intervals indicate, these point estimates are of course noisy. On

the whole, however, I would deem them precise enough to allow meaningful cross-national comparisons.

Most notably, this impartiality index fared surprisingly well in a systematic comparison with the WGI in predicting preferred societal outcomes such as income growth, institutional and interpersonal trust and subjective well-being. With few exceptions the impartiality index performed as well as or even better than the WGI measures of rule of law, government effectiveness and control of corruption. In other words, with clearer conceptual underpinnings, expert polls represent a potentially valuable source of cross-country (but not historical) data on governance. And, quite importantly, it can be collected at a low cost. Since this was a web-based survey, the only costs of collecting the data stem from constructing the questionnaire, collecting the sample of experts, and programming the questionnaire into the web-based survey platform. A rough estimate is that this cost us about 300 person-hours in all.

My two final arguments concern the need for new standards that would facilitate both the production and usage of cross-national governance data in the future. The first is a more established convention for **how to cite the data sources** one is using. As argued by Andreas Schedler, collection of public data in the sciences could be conceived of as a collective action problem, where the costs of producing the data are borne by the individual while the benefits could be reaped by everyone. As a result, the collection of cross-national data suffers from several inefficiencies, most importantly data privatization, opacity and incompatibility.<sup>11</sup> There are, of course, several sources of this problem, but my impression is that one important impediment is simply that too little recognition is today

given to those laboring with original data collection efforts in comparative politics. Sometimes people simply download your data without ever citing it; sometimes they only cite the compilation of data but not the original source. And even for all those honest people who want to cite the data source, there are oftentimes no clearly established standards for how to do so (the days when all data sources were stored with the ICPSR are, as we all know, more or less gone). It is of course up to the producer to clearly state how he or she would like the data to be cited. But even here some firmer conventions would help. Some prefer to demand that a published paper on the data should be cited, but not all data produced end up in such a paper, and other conventions exist. Of real help here would thus be if a large organization, such as IPSA, ECPR or APSA, drafted a citation convention for data sources that the main journals then could follow. If potential future data producers know in advance that they will be accorded due recognition for their work, this will provide a selective incentive to overcome the collective action problem of data production.

My final point is more technical, but nonetheless troublesome for both data users and producers. It concerns the lack of a standard for how to treat cases of **country mergers and splits** in cross-national time-series datasets. For instance, how should we treat West Germany before and after its absorption of East Germany in October 1990? Should there be one case for West Germany and one for united Germany, or should they be treated as the same case? If the decision is made to separate them into two cases, and the data is annual (which is usually the case), in what year should the case of united Germany start and the case of West Germany end – in the year of the merger or in the year after? The same questions emerge for the last decades in deciding how to handle Yemen in 1990 and Vietnam in 1975–

9. Bo Rothstein and Jan Teorell, “What Is Quality of Government? A Theory of Impartial Government Institutions,” *Governance* 21 (April 2008): 165–190.

10. To enhance data quality the figure only covers the 52 countries for which at least 3 expert responses were obtained. For details on index construction, see Jan Teorell, “The Impact of Quality of Government as Impartiality: Theory and Evidence,” Paper prepared for delivery at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September 3–6, 2009, available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1449173>.

11. Andreas Schedler, “The Measurer’s Dilemma: Coordination Failures in Cross-National Political Data Collection,” *Comparative Political Studies*, forthcoming.

76 (where the question of the timing of the merger is even more complicated). And, then, what about countries that split up? Should, for example, Ethiopia be treated as the same case before and after the secession of Eritrea in 1993? Is Russia the successor state to the USSR or a new state altogether? If different, in what year should the USSR end and Russia start?

When *working* with pooled data, my experience is that these decisions are of very little consequence for the results obtained (a handful of observations are lost or gained, but that is about all). When data from different sources are to be compiled, however, these decisions have enormous consequences,

since there are about as many solutions to these problems being applied as there are available datasets. Very few data producers seem to have reflected on these problems, and even fewer have tried to set up rules for solving them, meaning that solutions emerge on a case-by-case basis.<sup>12</sup> This concern might at first glance appear abstruse to the outside observer, but I would argue that in putting together original datasets, this problem is one of the most difficult and time-consuming

12. The one major exception I am aware of is Kristian Gleditsch and Michael Ward, "Interstate System Membership: A Revised List of the Independent States since 1816," *International Interactions* 25 (December 1999): 393-413; their list however lacks universal definitional criteria and excludes microstates.

to get right. Untold hours have been spent just checking and rechecking the Quality of Government Dataset for errors on country mergers and splits. This is thus another area where I think the scientific community could benefit greatly from agreed upon standards that data producers could follow. And this applies even more strongly, coming back to my first point, for those datasets covering long historical time frames, where the number of country/mergers and splits are even more numerous.

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as the tenure of high court justices, tell us all that we want to know about the autonomy and authority of the courts? In short, it seems as if the search for new institutional discoveries has been limited to the visible area lit by the proverbial streetlamp.

A second motive had to do with the origins of constitutional provisions. What factors lead to the adoption of one constitutional provision over another? Obviously this is an immensely important topic for institutionalists from Douglass North to Kathleen Thelen, as well as those in the business of understanding democratization.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly, we have very little scientific knowledge about the process of constitutional design, which is certainly an important example of political decision making and institution building. Indeed, Jan Elster despairs that he is unable to identify even "a single book or article that considers the process of constitution-

making in its full generality."<sup>3</sup> We were curious, in particular, about one aspect of the process: how, and to what extent, constitutional designers incorporate foreign constitutions as models. That constitutional actors engage with and utilize material from foreign sources at some level is a fundamental assumption of theories of diffusion, an enduring theoretical concern of ours. Certainly, the distribution of constitutional features across time and space provides a key body of evidence for untangling diffusion effects.

A third research objective concerns the implementation and enforcement of constitutional provisions. There is a certain cynicism regarding the value of constitutions. The cynicism stems, in part, from the suspicion that constitutions -- with their lofty ideals and sometimes inscrutable language -- are often at variance with actual political practice. The poster child of this problem, at least in comparative constitutional texts, is the former Soviet Union, whose written constitution has

been lauded as the most democratic ever written.<sup>4</sup> Enough authoritarian governments have written "democratic" constitutions, however, that this complaint is by no means limited to the Soviet Union. Indeed, cases of slippage from formal institutions come so quickly to peoples' minds that one can grow weary of the oft-voiced complaint that "formal institutions do not matter." But any misfit between *de jure* and *de facto* law is not a reason to refrain from the study of formal constitutions; rather, the misfit is precisely why one *should* study them. Obviously, constitutions "work" in some countries but not others and some provisions will be enforced more than others. Just as obviously, one cannot understand the gap between *de jure* law and *de facto* law without an accounting of the provisions in each sphere. Our domain is the formal, with absolutely no pretense to accounting for the informal.

Why had someone else not built this dataset already, we groused five years ago? Constitutions have long been

2. Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

3. Jan Elster, "Forces and Mechanisms in the Constitution-making Process," *Duke Law Journal* 45 (2): 364.

4. S.E. Finer, Vernon Bogdanor, and Bernard Rudden, *Comparing Constitutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

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front and center in institutional research and one would have thought that a dataset of this sort would be readily available. After all, Aristotle had done something like this two millennia ago for Greek city-states, and it is not as if constitutions have been neglected since. Indeed, 20th century political science was so dominated by constitutional analysis prior to the behavioral revolution that for us to take up their study now seemed to us to have a bit of a retro, almost quaint, quality. But our approach to constitutions, influenced by formal work in comparative politics and economics, is noticeably different from what one finds in law schools and public law programs. Indeed, it has been interesting to develop a census of constitutions and decode their content alongside law scholars who have spent considerable time analyzing a much smaller domain of written materials, usually from a single country. The benefits of pushing our interpretive lens across countries and eras are clear, but certainly, danger lurks beyond.

### Overview of the CCP Data

#### *Conceptual Challenges*

What is a constitution? The question is, admittedly, a thorny one, but one that we can define by fiat. Our focus is on “big-C” constitutions, written and promulgated as such by their authors. With this conceptualization comes the recognition that not all that is constitutional is in constitutions and not all that is in a constitution is constitutional. Certainly, major statutes and authoritative high court decisions reflect the former; the regulation of sports in the Brazilian constitution might reflect the latter. Nevertheless, written constitutions offer a relatively comparable as well as remarkably discrete and public record of the intentions of institutional founders. One could, and should, wonder about the meaning of constitutional promises and the degree of conceptual stretching that is involved in travelling across eras

and continents in their analysis. We certainly have, as a long chapter of our recent book attests.<sup>5</sup>

One might also wonder when one constitution begins and when another takes its place. The structure of our dataset does not depend upon this decision. We record any formal change in a constitution, no matter how large. Conceptually, however, we also identify constitutional systems within which one might observe within-system changes as well as changes to and from systems. In our work we have classified “constitutional events” as replacements, revisions, suspensions, interim replacements, or reinstatements. This sort of historiography was a significant undertaking in its own right and the subject of our recent book on the duration of constitutional systems.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Sampling*

We sample from a universe of constitutional events that includes those from all independent states (including micro-states) that have existed for at least five years between 1789 and 2006. Our list of states is drawn from Gleditsch and Ward’s census of state births and deaths.<sup>7</sup> We have identified 826 constitutional systems as well as 2,238 amendments, 79 suspensions, and 63 reinstatements. Our sample currently includes almost three fourths of constitutional systems since 1789. We have also identified a set of 93 interim constitutions. Our intention is to code the entire population.

#### *Content*

A critical task before surveying constitutions was the review and selection of those attributes of constitutions to

be included in the survey. We wanted to be able to describe elements of constitutions that were closely related to our own research interests and ambitions which included, for example, judicial review, presidentialism versus parliamentarism, methods of executive and legislative selection, federalism, rights, etc. However, we also wanted to be able to record the inventory of constitutions across time and space. This required reading a large sample of constitutions, reviewing analytical work on constitutions, and consulting a large number of colleagues with expertise across countries and areas of constitutional design. We thus arrived at a fairly comprehensive survey of the form and content of constitutions. A perusal of our survey instrument online provides the best sense of the substantive range of our inquiry.

#### *Sources of Constitutional Texts*

Thanks to the monumental efforts of comparative constitutional scholars that have come before us and resources at our various institutions, we have acquired the constitutional texts for approximately 90% of the constitutional events in our sample. For a large majority of these texts, we have a reliable English translation; for others, we have either translated the texts ourselves or coded them from their original language. We have put a sample of these texts on line for drafters at [constitutionmaking.org](http://constitutionmaking.org). A fair number of them, unfortunately, are under copyright protection by the publishers that assembled them. We continue to release those that we determine are in the public domain.

### Assessing and Reporting Issues of Measurement Error: Toward Shared Standards

That is enough about the CCP itself. Our central goal in these pages is to reflect upon how researchers involved in collecting cross-national datasets can best resolve issues of interpretation and how they can present their decisions

5. Zachary Elkins, Tom Ginsburg, and James Melton, *The Endurance of National Constitutions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

6. Ibid.

7. Kristian S. Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward, “Interstate System Membership: A Revised List of the Independent States since 1816,” *International Interactions* 25 (1999): 393-413.



to users of the data. We mean to draw lessons from our own experience and present at least one model for revealing measurement procedures and fostering a process of user validation of the data.

Visitors to our project site will notice that we have documented our decisions regarding basic issues such as the choice of concepts, sampling, historical sources, and so on. This is standard codebook fare, to be sure, and undoubtedly this information will be indispensable for secondary users of the data. A more vexing problem concerns how to present information regarding our interpretation of the historical material that informs our coding decisions. We see this challenge as a general one that often interferes with the use and evaluation of the data by secondary users. We are not aware of any published guidance on this topic and, thus, our guess is that it is worth developing.

We view the enterprise of coding constitutions (and institutions more generally) as very similar to the work of judges in a common-law legal system. So, our survey instrument, which articulates our conceptual approach, is analogous to the law to be interpreted and constitutional texts constitute the cases to be adjudicated. A coder attempts to apply the law (our codebook) to these cases and renders a judgment. Often, decisions are not clear cut. Grey areas of interpretation arise due to either a lack of conceptual clarity in our codebook or atypicality or fuzziness in the texts under consideration. How can we resolve these issues and provide guidance to other coders who grapple with analogous cases as well as secondary users of the data who wonder how we reached our decisions?

Our project, whose basic structure is probably not uncommon, employs the following protocol. When an interpretive problem arises, a coder (typically a law or graduate student) can forward a question to a higher court (one of the principal investigators) by

entering the particulars of the case on a private message board on a web portal developed for the project and accessible to all participants in the project. The web portal also includes the survey engine and the repository of constitutional documents, as well as administrative features such as a time-sheet reporting tool.<sup>8</sup> Each day, one of the principal investigators is on duty and responds to any such queries (typically around five per day during high season). The P.I.s' judgment is then logged along with the coder's query. Subsequent coders, then, have access to this case-law should they encounter problems with a particular variable (since all queries are logged and tagged with variable and case information). In total, there are now approximately 5,000 threads on the message board, with about 12,000 total queries, responses, and follow-up queries from coders and P.I.s alike. The P.I.s' decisions, then, function as precedent-setting judgments. On occasion lower courts (coders) find decisions problematic and request a review, in which case precedents can be overruled. In difficult cases, the P.I.s (sometimes together with experienced research assistants) sit as a tribunal and work out a solution to interpretive problems (sometimes with dissenting opinions from the minority!).

The utility of this mechanism for the project's coders is probably obvious. Coders can consult the case-law to assist their adjudication of difficult cases and, therefore, maintain consistency across cases. However, the case-law also presents a rather useful set of documents for future analysts of the data who wish to interrogate the project's concepts and measures further. In the process of cleaning the data in preparation for its analysis and release, the P.I.s have put together reports on many of the survey questions from the instrument. One of the principal elements of such a report

is a discussion of these grey-area cases, mostly captured by a table that presents the interpretive problem, the solution to that problem, and the number of cases that exhibit the problem. We expect that these reports will be of interest to users. However, it may be that the discussion threads in which these cases are adjudicated in their gory detail will themselves be of use to analysts. Were we to make the discussions available as an online resource in which users could search the threads by constitution or by variable, users could access our interpretive decisions themselves and gain a better sense of the data's validity and reliability.

We see machine-mediated methods of interpretation and adjudication, like the one we employed, to be incredibly useful as mechanisms for archiving interpretive decisions, which are often at the root of any concerns about data quality. Ideally, users who do explore the data more carefully can assist in identifying interpretive errors as well as understanding interpretive choices. Other projects appear to be taking advantage of these methods. The authors involved in the promising Comparative Law Project have developed similar machinery to assist their interpretation of court cases across countries.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Measurement Error*

As the message board demonstrates, making judgments about the meaning of written law will be contested - and contested on two fronts. Coders can disagree about the meaning of the political concepts under study (e.g., the meaning of something like the right to assembly) or they can disagree about what a particular legal text says, for example, about the right to assembly.

We have already discussed, at least obliquely, some of the measurement concerns of the data, especially the role of written constitutions in

8. We are indebted to Kalev Leetaru at the Cline Center for Democracy and NCSA at the University of Illinois who developed this resource for the project.

9. Clifford Carubba, Matthew Gabel, Gretchen Helmke, Andrew Martin, and Jeffrey Staton, *The Comparative Law Project*.

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understanding the larger constitutional order. That issue is one that challenges the validity, or more exactly, the cross-contextual comparability of our project. Other sources of error, both systematic and unsystematic, are not difficult to imagine. Our coders must have, at their command, knowledge of a large set of institutional concepts. Further, they must sift through sometimes convoluted legal texts in order to understand whether or not the text expresses that concept, and in what way. Mistakes are inevitable, but how many and of what sort? Assessing the degree of error is obviously useful for evaluating our procedures, but the exercise also provides insight into the law more generally. Indeed, as we make clear in a recent manuscript, understanding the level of intersubjective agreement about the provisions of a given constitution tells us much about the degree of clarity, or interpretability, of the law in that country.<sup>10</sup> If one agrees with Lon Fuller and his many followers that clarity is essential to the rule of law, then our measure of reliability might actually mean something substantively – and perhaps mean something quite significant given the way scholars throw around the concept of rule of law these days.

A natural measure of reliability for our project is intercoder agreement. In our most complete analysis of intercoder reliability, we have measured the agreement between any two coders across 120 of our questions for 426 constitutional texts. Overall, coders agreed in 81 percent of the decisions across this sample. We wondered about some systematic sources of error. For example, we imagined that our coders would have more difficulty with constitutions that were written many years ago or in very different

cultural and geographic contexts. Also, we wondered whether constitutions that were translated would have more error than would those read in their original language. All these issues have important implications for constitutional law, which is intended to constrain behavior across generations and, sometimes (in the case of multiethnic states), across cultures. We found, somewhat to our surprise, no evidence of cross-contextual bias. Coders manifested similar levels of agreement in their interpretation of constitutions regardless of the era, geographic region, or language in which the text was written. The structure of our data allows us to test a host of other reliability hypotheses, having to do with the experience of the coder, variations in our process, as well as aspects of the document under analysis such as its length and scope, the readability of the syntax (machine measured, mostly by sentence and word length), and so on. By far the most important factor associated with intercoder error is the scope of the text: coders assigned to more expansive texts will disagree at higher rates than will those assigned to short, framework texts. We continue to evaluate these data and in particular, we plan to test a set of hypotheses regarding various components of the constitution (for example, rights provisions versus provisions regarding the power of the executive). All of our reliability analysis will be available to users of the data, either as posts to our website or as a published paper.

### *Towards User Validation*

Any secondary user of cross-national data will recognize the value of providing some window into the process of data collection. Towards this end, our intention has been to incorporate as much transparency into our procedures as possible. This sort of transparency is especially useful

when interpreting higher law, which lends itself to important disputes about meaning. Accordingly, we have released the data in a form that includes two ancillary pieces of information for every value: (1) a citation to the section of the constitution that served as the source of the interpretation of a given question; and (2) any comments from the coders about the score given for a particular case.

As I suggest above, the next step towards full transparency would be to release the text of our own deliberations about particular scores, something we may do at some point. Those deliberations were never meant for public consumption, but I suspect that they are significantly less embarrassing than a trove of U.S. diplomatic correspondence released by Wikileaks. Accordingly, we may declassify and release the texts of our own deliberations at some point. Of course, any such “meta-data” projects distract our attention from our priority of analyzing the data, which serves as another reminder of why open-source and open-deliberation policies are so rare.

The end result of all of this transparency is, of course, that users may write us to express their disagreement with, say, our coding of the freedom of religion clause in the Turkish constitution or to tip us off that our understanding of citizenship provisions in the Ecuadorian constitution missed a crucial element. Or at least, we hope that users write us about these things, in addition to muttering any condemnations and epithets. In this way, cleaning up inevitable errors of measurement will become an interactive process over time.

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10. Zachary Elkins, James Melton, Tom Ginsburg, and Kalev Leetaru, “On the Interpretability of Law,” Manuscript.

## SEMETKO, CONTINUED

(continued from page 2)

election, and found that Roosevelt had a visibility advantage in the news by a margin of 3:2 in quantitative terms, but the tone of the news actually favored Wilkie by a margin of 2:1, illustrating the independence of measures of degree and direction of attention. This early research was in the context of a strong two-party system with loyal voters. Yet, even under those very stable conditions, some citizens' preferences were moved by their experience of the campaign. The predominant effect of the campaign in 1940 though was one of 'reinforcement' of preexisting partisan sympathies due to selective perception—a conclusion that continued to resonate some 60 years later when social psychologist Drew Westen used fMRI techniques to study how the 'partisan brain' processes political information in the run up to the 2008 U.S. presidential election.<sup>2</sup>

The 1940 study illustrates two dimensions to assessing balance in the news—visibility and valence (tone)—that remain very important today. Political communication research has become even more relevant to elections as citizens' bonds to political parties have weakened in many established democracies while citizens in new democracies have little to hold on to in the form of longstanding political parties.

### The European Union (EU) Context

The European Union (EU) context and national election studies in EU countries provide a wealth of opportunities for comparison, thanks to support from national, EU and university funding sources. The European Election Studies (EES) were launched with the 1979 European Parliament elections.

2. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. *The People's Choice. How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948/1968); Drew Westen, *The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008).

As the EU has grown from 15 countries in 1999 to 25 in 2004 and 27 in 2009 so has the transnational group of researchers. The EES is about electoral participation and voting in European Parliament elections, the evolution of an EU political community and party system, and citizens' perceptions of EU political performance.

Support from the Dutch National Science Foundation and the University of Amsterdam (UvA) supported the first EES in which the concepts of visibility and tone were applied across all 15 countries to study campaigns, political actors and institutions in the news, through a systematic content analysis of main evening TV news programs and leading newspapers in the 1999 elections. Then UvA-based Cees van der Eijk, Holli Semetko and Klaus Schoenbach along with a talented team of post-docs and graduate students in cooperation with scholars across Europe led the project.<sup>3</sup> The 1999 EES launched a new generation of scholars working on the contents, uses and impacts of news and information in election campaigns at both the EU and national levels.<sup>4</sup>

A decade later, many more young scholars are working with the recent data from the media component of the 2009 EES led by the 1999 team members Susan Banducci (Exeter), Claes de Vreese (Amsterdam), and Wouter van der Brug (Amsterdam), along with a

3. See, for example, Jochen Peter, Edmund Lauf and Holli A. Semetko "Television Coverage of the 1999 European Parliamentary Elections", *Political Communication* 21(2004): 415–33; Claes H. de Vreese, Susan A. Banducci, Holli A. Semetko & Hajo Boomgaarden, "The news coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 countries" *European Union Politics* 7 (2006): 477–50.

4. Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk [eds.] *European Elections and Domestic Politics: Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future* (South Bend IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

network of scholars and students in 27 EU countries. The 2004 EES was partially supported by CONNEX, an acronym for a network of excellence funded by the European Commission under the 6th framework program. The 2009 EES, otherwise known by the acronym PIREDEU, developed an infrastructure under the 7th framework program that provides a way to merge the various datasets including public opinion surveys, content analysis and party and candidate data in each country.<sup>5</sup>

Comparisons over time and across countries on media and campaign information environments can now be made since the 1999 EES. Thanks to Cees van der Eijk, now at University of Nottingham, Hermann Schmitt, now at the Universities of Mannheim and Manchester, and Mark Franklin, Stefano Bartolini, Peter Mair and others at the European University Institute in Florence and the team of scholars supported by the PIREDEU 2009 project, the infrastructure was developed for merging the various datasets including party manifestos, contextual and campaign data, media content data and surveys. Training sessions on merging the datasets were given at the PIREDEU project's November 2010 final conference in Brussels sponsored by the European Commission that brought together hundreds of scholars. Measurements of the country-specific media content can be linked to EES country-specific survey data to assess the relative impact of campaign information on turnout and vote choice, and potential agenda-setting, priming and framing effects.

5. For a list of relevant publications from the EES, see [http://www.piredeu.eu/datalists/PIREDEU\\_BIBL2.asp?Authors=&Title=&Publication\\_year=&Find=Find+Records](http://www.piredeu.eu/datalists/PIREDEU_BIBL2.asp?Authors=&Title=&Publication_year=&Find=Find+Records).

TABLE 1—FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ISSUE SCALES

	Economic Liberalism	Clerical Nationalism
People SHOULD NOT look to state aid for their economic needs	<b>0.743</b>	0.101
Keeping unemployment low SHOULD NOT be top gov't priority	<b>0.638</b>	0.064
Farmers SHOULD NOT be subsidized from state budget	<b>0.616</b>	-0.103
The state SHOULD NOT subsidize large families	<b>0.571</b>	-0.064
Everyone SHOULD pay the same percentage of income as tax	<b>0.520</b>	0.012
The state SHOULD retain control of many enterprises	<b>-0.482</b>	0.102
Crime should be fought in a way that DOES NOT infringe on civil rights	0.291	-0.037
Abortion should be BANNED	0.018	<b>0.646</b>
Influx of foreign capital into Poland should be RESTRICTED	0.002	<b>0.604</b>
The church SHOULD have much influence on gov't policy	0.143	<b>0.533</b>
The government SHOULD defend national interests even at price of leaving the EU	0.009	<b>0.445</b>
The government SHOULD stop foreigners from trying to settle in Poland	-0.220	<b>0.432</b>
It is NOT important to look into communist-era past of public figures	0.126	-0.238
Variance explained (%)	18.0	11.9

Principal components extraction with Varimax rotation; loadings >abs(.3) highlighted for emphasis

Source: Tworzecki and Semetko 2010, p. 164.

### Measuring Balance or Bias in the News at Election Time in 'Established' and 'New' Democracies

Visibility has been measured in terms of the proportion of time in the program devoted to stories in which the party or parties were main actors, the amount of soundbite time in the news devoted to spokespersons from each political party, and the placement of the story in the news program. Tone is represented as a numeric scale to assess the extent to which the news is favorable or unfavorable towards a political actor or institution. National level studies have used these measures to assess the range and quality of information available to citizens at election time and the potential consequences of news for political participation and citizens' perceptions of parties, leaders and issues.<sup>6</sup>

Measures of visibility and tone are also the basis of research about media effects on the vote, including recently published research on Denmark's 2007 national election campaign in which these data are linked to election results. Hopmann, Vliegthart, Vreese, and Albaek find a positive correlation between visibility and tone in the news and a party's support at the polls, with effects primarily ascribed to the

information environment. They also establish that undecided voters were directly affected by the visibility and tone of information.<sup>7</sup>

Over the past decade, the analysis of media content, use, and effect has been integrated into Poland's general election study. It has been used to study contentious debates during the parliamentary and presidential election campaigns in 2005 and 2007.<sup>8</sup> The 2005 election study included a set of responses to 13 issue-related questions that were used to determine whether media audiences were ideologically self-selected.<sup>9</sup> By factor-analyzing these responses, two dimensions emerged (1) state redistribution vs. economic liberalism and (2) clerical nationalism vs. secular cosmopolitanism. These items are displayed in Table 1.

Figure 1 draws upon these data to map the audiences of major news media in Poland in 2005. It shows that the clearest ideological profiles can be found among the listeners of the conservative

7. David Nicolas Hopmann, Rens Vliegthart, Claes de Vreese, and Erik Albaek "Effects of Election News Coverage: How Visibility and Tone Influence Party Choice" *Political Communication* 27 (Oct-Dec 2010): 389-405.

8. See Hubert Tworzecki and Holli A. Semetko "Media Uses and Effects in New Democracies: The Case of Poland's 2005 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections" *The International Journal of Press Politics* 15 (2010): 155-174; Radosław Markowski, "The Polish Elections of 2005: Pure Chaos or a Restructuring of the Party System?" *West European Politics* 29 (2006): 814-832.

9. Tworzecki and Semetko: 164.

Catholic Radio Maryja and readers of the broadsheet newspapers, as they are furthest from the origin. In contrast, evening news viewers of both the public and privately owned TV channels are close to the origin, "suggesting that television news (along with private radio and the tabloids) is basically a 'catch-all' medium."

Figure 1 provides *prima facie* evidence that the audiences for news on the various TV channels in Poland in 2005 were not ideologically self-selected, which is a first step toward establishing "a media-related political learning effect."

Ultimately, the comparative content data from national elections provide an opportunity to investigate whether there is a consistent pattern in the visibility and tone of election news content and when and how changes occur. These data also help us to address larger questions about the impact of expanding media systems on the space available in the window for political news in flagship evening television news programs at election time.

### Balance in Other National and Regional Contexts

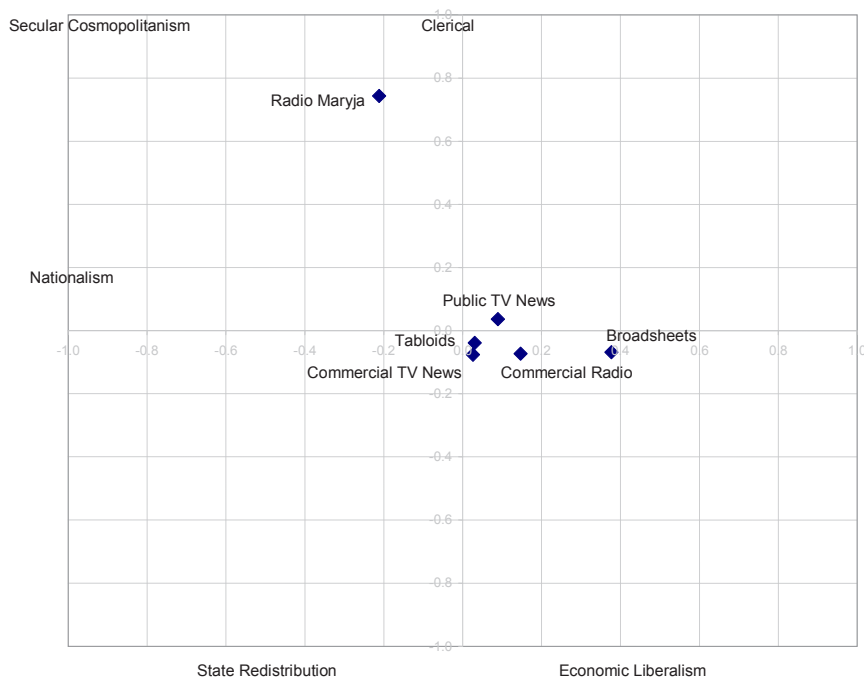
In comparison with the context provided by established and 'new' democracies, we have less in the way of systematic data on public opinion<sup>10</sup> and even less on media content in transitional autocracies and consolidating democracies with one dominant party and where opposition parties and reform movements have difficulty in getting their message out to mobilize voters. In these national and regional contexts, issues of access and balance in election campaigns and in routine news periods are particularly important. There is considerable variation across countries in this category of governance.

6. See, for example, Pippa Norris, John Curtice, David Sanders, Margaret Scammell & Holli A. Semetko, *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*, (London: Sage 1999).

10. Examples of well known exceptions include the World Values Survey, the various Barometers (Latin, Asian, Africa, European), and Pew and Gallup global surveys.



FIGURE 1: MEDIA AUDIENCES IN ISSUE SPACE



Source: Tworzecki and Semetko 2010, p. 165.

A coding of media content reports on campaigns in the former Soviet Union by Sarah Oates shows that there was some variation across several Freedom House rated 'not free' countries and one 'partly free' country in media performance in recent elections.<sup>11</sup> Oates, based on her content analysis of media monitoring reports from 18 elections in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and Armenia from 1993 to 2001, argues that the central problem lies in the lack of professionalism on the part of the journalists.

Based on the extent to which media reporting was an issue in recent elections, and national trajectories on the paths of democracy and development, Russia, Kenya, Mexico and Turkey were compared on key media measures available from public sources. Two of these four countries are further along the path to be able to study change in the context of election campaigns and balance in the media

over time. Mexico and Turkey, for example, each have established teams of researchers working on national election studies based on survey and panel data, as well as media content analysis of campaign news.<sup>12</sup> Russia also has been the subject of much research with respect to media and politics, public opinion and elections.<sup>13</sup> Kenya had media monitoring and public opinion polls, but no systematic data collection that enables linking them to address questions about influence. Although access to television in Kenya

12. On Turkey, see Ali Çarkoğlu, Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *The Rising Tide of Conservatism in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Ali Çarkoğlu and Barry Rubin, *Religion and Politics in Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2006); Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu *Turkish Democracy Today: Elections, Protest and Stability in an Islamic Society* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007). On Mexico, see Chappell Lawson, *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of the Free Press in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Jorge Domínguez and Chappell Lawson, *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters and the Presidential Campaign of 2000* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

13. See, for example, Ellen Propper Mickiewicz, *Television, Power and the Public in Russia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Sarah Oates, *Television, Democracy and Elections in Russia* (London: Routledge, 2006).

is far less widespread than in the other three countries in which 9 out of 10 households have television, television news reporting was perceived as imbalanced in the 2007 elections. This has been connected to the election's violent aftermath.

Table 2 presents a matrix with key features of political and media system characteristics in the four countries.<sup>14</sup> Based on the latest available Freedom House rating, these countries represent different levels of democracy ranging from free (Mexico) to not free (Russia), with Turkey and Kenya in between described as partly free. Press freedom is less variable, with Russia described as not free and the other countries as partly free by Freedom House. The number of journalists killed in the country is another indicator of press freedom. The frequency of this unfortunate experience in Mexico and Russia sets them apart from the Kenya and Turkey over the past five years.

All countries shown in Table 2 have mixed broadcasting systems with public service and privately owned channels that operate nationwide, in addition to a number of regional and local channels for which data were not readily available. The countries vary in terms of the number of national newspapers, reflecting to some extent the variance in the reported level of literacy. Mexico, Russia and Turkey stand apart from Kenya, in terms of literacy, internet use, and access to television and radio. While television is a very accessible medium in Mexico, Russia and Turkey, reaching more than 90 percent of households in those countries, less than 18 percent of households in Kenya have access to television and radio use is more widespread. The political systems vary from presidential in Kenya and Mexico to a mixed executive form in Russia

11. Sarah Oates, "Post-Soviet Political Communication" In Holli A. Semetko and Margaret Scammell [eds], *The Sage Handbook of Political Communication*. Forthcoming.

14. The table is reprinted from Holli A. Semetko "Election campaigns, partisan balance and the news media" in Pippa Norris [ed] *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank 2009): 163-192.

TABLE 2—POLITICAL AND MEDIA SYSTEM COMPARISONS

	Kenya	Mexico	Russian Federation	Turkey
Freedom 2008, Freedom House	partly free (7)	free (5)	not free (11)	partly free (6)
Press freedom 2008, Freedom House	partly free (59)	partly free (48)	not free (75)	partly free (49)
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) (US\$) <sup>1</sup>	1,240	10,751	10,845	8,407
Human Development Index	.521 (148th)	.829 (52nd)	.802 (67th)	.775 (84th)
<b>Journalists killed</b>				
2006–2008	0	9	5	2
2003–2005	0	6	8	0
<b>Type of broadcasting system</b>				
Number of terrestrial public and private nationwide channels	7	4	6	8 (about 300 private)
<b>Type of newspaper market</b>				
Number of national daily titles	5	300	250	588
Daily circulation per 1,000		92.76	91.78	
<b>Level of literacy</b>	73.6	91.6	99.4	87.4
<b>Access</b>				
Internet users per 1,000	32.43	180.64	152.33	222.02
Radios per 1,000	104	325	418	180
Household with television (%)	16.83	92.37	97.77	96.29
<b>Political context</b>				
Type of executive	Presidential	Presidential	Mixed executive	Mixed executive
Share of votes/seats of the largest party (year of election)	56.1 (2002) 125 out of 210	34.6 (2006) 206 out of 500	64.3 (2007) 315 out of 450	46.7 (2008) 341 out of 550

Source: Holli A. Semetko “Election campaigns, partisan balance and the news media” in Pippa Norris [ed]

and Turkey, and the share of vote taken by the largest party in the last election shows there is the least amount of electoral competition in Russia.

These cases show four countries at very different points with respect to addressing balance in the news about election campaigns. Russia is a ‘failed state in these terms, with overwhelming bias in the news during the 2006 legislative and 2007 presidential campaigns. By contrast the most recent elections in Turkey in 2007 and Mexico in 2006 show that the mechanisms are in place to study campaigns and their effects on citizens’ attitudes and behavior. Kenya is the only one of the four countries to have a press that espouses a Fourth Estate role, but the little evidence available suggests the news coverage was imbalanced during the 2007 campaign and the ethnic violence during and afterwards may have been more than random.

## Conclusions

Media and political system-level

indicators are a small but important part of the story when it comes to explaining stability and change in the context of election campaigns and public opinion about political institutions and issues in routine (non-election) periods. The media content measures discussed here have been used with trained coders, a method also used by many well known content analysis firms. There are a number of software packages available to computer-score media content. Both approaches have advantages and disadvantages that are dependent on the research questions being addressed.

In terms of directions for future research, a value-added project would: (a) bring together experts and their data to identify the key over-time content measures in country-specific studies, (b) remedy missing variables to the extent possible, and (c) merge these into country and regional datasets. A larger goal would be one cross-national dataset with multiple uses including: (a) measuring stability, change, balance and bias both over-time and cross-

nationally among parties, leaders and issues in the news during election campaigns; (b) linking these findings to contextual data on media, party and legal system development to address questions about what drives access and change in campaign information environments; and (c) linking media content measures to survey data from election campaigns to identify potential sources of influence on opinions, preferences and electoral outcomes, and to address questions about the power of agenda-setting, priming and framing in different national contexts. Last but not least, research on democratization should incorporate systematic analysis of media content outside of election campaigns to explain what drives access and change in national and regional information environments as well as public perceptions of, and government responses to, local and global issues.

*Holli A. Semetko is vice provost for international affairs, director of the Halle Institute for Global Learning, and professor of Political Science at Emory University in Atlanta.*

## SECTION NEWS

The Comparative Democratization Section will present five awards for scholarly work at the 2011 APSA annual meeting in Seattle, Washington: the Linz Prize for Best Dissertation, and Best Book, Best Article, Best Field Work, and Best Paper prizes. Members are strongly encouraged to submit nominations (including for several awards self-nominations) to the appropriate committees listed below. Please also forward this information to colleagues and graduate students. We ask you to note the eligibility criteria, deadlines for submissions, and materials that must accompany nominations; direct any queries to the committee chairs.

### 1. Juan Linz Prize for Best Dissertation in the Comparative Study of Democracy:

Given for the best dissertation in the Comparative Study of Democracy completed and accepted in the two calendar years immediately prior to the APSA Annual Meeting where the award will be presented (2009 or 2010 for the 2011 Annual Meeting). The prize can be awarded to analyses of individual country cases as long as they are clearly cast in a comparative perspective. A hard copy of the dissertation, accompanied by a letter of support from a member of the dissertation committee should be sent to each member of the prize selection committee.

**Deadline: March 1, 2011**

#### Committee Chair:

Stathis Kalyvas  
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#### Committee Members:

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### 2. Best Book Award

Given for the best book in the field of comparative democratization published in 2010 (authored, co-authored or edited). Copies of the nominated book should be sent to each committee member in time to arrive by March 1, 2011. Books received after this deadline cannot be considered.

**Deadline: March 1, 2011**

#### Committee Chair:

Stephan Haggard  
Department of Political Science  
University of California at San Diego  
9500 Gilman Drive  
La Jolla, CA 92093-0519  
Telephone: 858-534-5781  
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#### Committee Members:

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Amaney Jamal  
Department of Politics  
Princeton University  
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Princeton, NJ 08544  
Telephone: 609-258-7340

Email: ajamal@princeton.edu

### 3. Best Article

Single-authored or co-authored articles focusing directly on the subject of democratization and published in 2010 are eligible. Nominations and self-nominations are encouraged. Copies of the article should be sent by postal mail to each of the committee members.

**Deadline: March 1, 2011**

#### Committee Chair:

Ellen Lust  
Department of Political Science  
Yale University  
124 Prospect Street  
New Haven, CT 06511  
Telephone: 203-432-3648  
Email: ellen.lust@yale.edu

#### Committee Members:

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### 4. Best Field Work:

This prize rewards dissertation students who conduct especially innovative and difficult fieldwork. Scholars who are currently writing their dissertations or who complete their dissertations in 2010 are eligible. Candidates must submit two chapters of their dissertation and a letter of nomination from the chair of their dissertation committee describing the field

## Section News

work. The material submitted must describe the field work in detail and should provide one or two key insights from the evidence collected in the field. The chapters may be sent electronically or in hard copy directly to each committee member.

**Deadline: March 1, 2011**

### Committee Chair:

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### 5. Best Paper Award

Given to the best paper on comparative democratization presented at the previous year's APSA Convention. Papers must be nominated by panel chairs or discussants. No self nominations are permitted. Nominated papers must be sent by email to each committee member listed below.

**Deadline: March 1, 2011**

### Committee Chair:

Jeffrey Kopstein  
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### NEWS FROM MEMBERS:

**Leslie Anderson**, University of Florida Research Foundation Professor, participated in a July 2010 Oxford Roundtable Series where she presented a paper on "Poverty and Political empowerment: Local Citizen Participation as a Path toward Social Justice in Nicaragua" at the Oxford Roundtable on Social Justice, held at Rhodes College, Oxford University.

**Enrique Desmond Arias**, associate professor of political science, City University of New York, and Daniel Goldstein edited *Violent Democracies in Latin America* (Duke University Press), in which the authors seek to explain why, despite the establishment of democracies throughout Latin America, state-perpetrated human rights' violations, police corruption, and other forms of violence persist, undermining the consolidation of democracy in the region.

In September 2010, **Jérôme Bachelard**, postdoctoral research fellow at the Center for the Study of Development Strategies, Columbia University, successfully defended his Ph.D. at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. He has also published his first article, "The Anglo-Leasing Corruption Scandal in Kenya: the Politics of International and Domestic Pressures and Counter-Pressures" in the June 2010 *Review of African Political Economy*, in which he documents the failure of a democratically elected "reformist opposition leader" to curb corruption in Kenya and its implications for the country's future.

**Andrew Barwig** recently completed his dissertation on "Ruling with Rules: Electoral Institutions and Authoritarian Resilience in the Middle East." His article on electoral reform following the 2010 elections in Jordan, which assesses the quality and impact of those reforms enacted in Jordan following the promise of King Abdullah that parliamentary elections would be a "model for transparency, fairness and integrity," was published on [foreignpolicy.com](http://foreignpolicy.com) in November 2010.

**Oksan Bayulgen**, assistant professor of political science, University of Connecticut, published *Foreign Investment and Political Regimes: The Oil Sector in Azerbaijan, Russia and Norway* (Cambridge University Press). Drawing on three detailed case studies of oil rich states, as well as analysis of three decades of statistics from 132 countries, the author finds that the link between democratization and foreign direct investment is nonlinear. Additionally, Ms. Bayulgen finds evidence that while both democracies and authoritarian regimes possess several characteristics that attract FDI, states in the process of democratizing are less attractive.



## Section News

**Catherine Boone**, professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, and Norma Kriger recently published “Multiparty Elections and Land Patronage: Zimbabwe and Cote d’Ivoire” in the April 2010 *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. The paper addresses the phenomenon of politicians using land rights as a patronage resource for the purpose of mobilizing electorates, using Zimbabwe and Cote d’Ivoire as case studies.

**Archie Brown**, Emeritus Professor of Politics, Oxford University, has been awarded the 2010 W.J.M. Mackenzie Prize of the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom for best political science book of the year. The award is for Mr. Brown’s *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (Ecco and Vintage). The judges observed that the book is “destined to become a central text in the analysis of communism and regime change” within academia—and also beyond it, since the book is “accessible” and “a really good read.” Mr. Brown was, in addition, one of three scholars to receive the Diamond Jubilee Award for Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies in November 2010. The awards marked the 60th anniversary of the founding of the UK-equivalent of APSA.

**Jason Brownlee**, associate professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, published “Unrequited Moderation: Credible Commitments and State Repression in Egypt,” in the December 2010 *Studies in Comparative International Development*, in which he introduces evidence from Egypt that shows that the structural readiness of incumbents remains as consequential to regime change as credible commitment by the opposition. Mr. Brownlee is currently a visiting fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

**Melani Cammet**, associate professor of

political science and director of the Middle East studies program, Brown University, contributed a chapter on “The Political Economy of Development in the Middle East” to the 12th edition of *The Middle East*, published by CQ Press and edited by Ellen Lust, associate professor of political science, Yale University. She also will be editing, with Lauren Morris MacLean, a forthcoming special issue of *Studies in Comparative International Development* that will also include her articles on “Introduction: The Political Consequences of Non-State Social Welfare in the Global South” and “Partisan Activism and Access to Welfare in Lebanon.”

**Paul J. Carnegie**, assistant professor of political science, American University of Sharjah, published *The Road from Authoritarianism to Democratization in Indonesia* (Palgrave Macmillan), in which he explores aspects of ambiguity in Indonesia’s journey from authoritarianism. By showing what is out there in the field of study and threading it through the eye of a local context, the book establishes that a tension exists between the way we frame democratization and the conclusions we arrive at and demonstrates how and why interpreting ambiguity matters.

**Michael Coppedge**, professor of political science, University of Notre Dame, is serving as chair of the APSA Task Force on Indicators of Democracy and Governance, which will issue its report in 2011. In this capacity he participated in the Appraising Media Indicators Conference at the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania in November. In July he delivered the keynote address at the Congress of the Colombian Political Science Association in Barranquilla, and in October he delivered an invited lecture on “Measuring Democracy: A Multidimensional, Tiered, and Historical Approach,” at IMT-Lucca in Italy.

**Javier Corrales**, professor of political science, Amherst College, published “Venezuela: A Setback for Chavez,” in the January 2011 *Journal of Democracy*, in which he analyzes the most recent Venezuelan election results, where, despite rampant gerrymandering, malapportionment, and other non-democratic tactics undertaken by the Chavez regime, opposition parties were able to make a significant dent in the ruling party’s legislative majority.

Mr. Corrales and Michael Penfold published *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chavez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela* (Brookings Institution Press), which details the rise of Chavez and how he used state oil wealth to transform a pluralistic democracy into an increasingly authoritarian regime.

**Zachary Elkins**, associate professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, published “Diffusion and the Constitutionalization of Europe,” in the August 2010 *Comparative Political Studies*. The article utilizes a custom designed dataset of 19th century European constitutional data for the purpose of finding empirical evidence of constitutional diffusion, with results that “disturb some of the classic narratives of democratization.”

**Omar Encarnación**, professor of political studies, Bard College, published “International Justice on Trail” in the January 2011 *Current History*. The article examines criticisms of international justice processes, most notably trials on charges of human rights abuses, as a hindrance to democratization and peace.

**John Entelis**, professor and director of Middle East studies, Fordham University, served in December 2010 as the academic advisor on the Middle East and North Africa to Freedom House’s 2011 Freedom in the World survey. This was his fourth consecutive year serving in that capacity.

## Section News

**Jonathan Fox**, professor of Latin American and Latino Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz, and Libby Haight edited “Subsidizing Inequality: Mexican Corn Policy Since NAFTA” a report published by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and CIDE as part of their Mexican Rural Development program. The report, along with an accompanying monograph series, is available in English and Spanish and can be accessed at the project’s website.

**Timothy Frye**, Marshall D. Shulman Professor Post-Soviet Foreign Policy, Columbia University, recently published *Building States and Markets after Communism: the Perils of Polarized Democracy* (Cambridge University Press), in which he examines “the relationship between state-building and market-building in 25 post-communist countries from 1990 to 2004.” Based on cross-national statistical analyses, surveys of business managers, and case studies from Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, and Uzbekistan, Mr. Frye demonstrates that “democracy is associated with more economic reform, stronger state institutions, and higher social transfers when political polarization is low.”

**Thomas E. Garrett**, vice president for programs, International Republican Institute, Gerard Russell, Michael O’Hanlon, and Vanda Felbab-Brown participated in an October 18 discussion on “What Next for Afghanistan? A Post-Election Analysis” sponsored by the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. Mr. Garrett, an observer to all four Afghan elections since 2004, discussed how certain other indicators concerning democratic development were somewhat more positive and that Afghanistan is at a similar stage of democratic development as he had seen in other countries around the world in his 16 years with IRI. The other three panelists spoke on the worsening security issues

present in Afghanistan. A preliminary transcript and audio from the conference is available here.

**Carlos Gervasoni**, assistant professor of political science and international studies, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, published “Measuring Variance in Subnational Regimes: Results from an Expert-Based Operationalization of Democracy in the Argentine Provinces,” in the 2010 *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. The article presents a strategy and methodological design to measure the degree of democracy in the Argentine provinces.

**Kenneth Greene**, associate professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, and Andy Baker published “The Latin American Left’s Mandate: Free-Market Policies and Issue Voting in New Democracies” in the January 2011 *World Politics*. The article seeks new explanations for the rise of leftist governments throughout Latin America over the last decade by using a new measure of voter ideology called “vote-revealed leftism.” Additionally, Mr. Greene served as the principal investigator on the “Mexico 2010 Clientelism Survey” which was supported by the Mellon Foundation.

**Kathryn Hochstetler**, CIGI Chair of Governance in the Americas and professor of political science, University of Waterloo, and David Samuels published “Crisis and Rapid Re-Equilibrium: The Consequences of Presidential Challenge and Failure in Latin America” in the January 2011 *Comparative Politics*. Noting that despite the fact that presidential democracies have been much less likely to break down, presidents still continue to confront challenges to remaining in office for their full terms. The authors examine the possible effects of these challenges and conclude that the “challenges and falls pose no threat to presidential governance broadly

considered in Latin America.”

**Judith Kelley**, associate professor of public policy and political science, Duke University, published “Election Observers and Their Biases” in the July 2010 *Journal of Democracy*, which seeks to identify and address potential shortcomings of the current system for monitoring election quality and fairness. Ms. Kelley also published “D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation” in the October 2009 *International Organization* and, with Kiril Kolev, “Election Quality and International Observation 1975–2004: Two New Datasets,” which is available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1694654>.

**Brandon Kendhammer** has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the University of Ohio.

**Carl LeVan**, assistant professor of comparative and regional studies, American University, **Todd Eisenstadt**, associate professor and department chair of government, American University, Josephine Ahikire, and Karuti Kanyinga will lead the American Political Science Association’s 2011 Africa Workshop on “Representation Reconsidered: Ethnic Politics and Africa’s Governance Institutions in Comparative Perspective,” hosted by the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Nairobi in late July and early August. The workshop is the fourth in a multi-year effort supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to encourage collaboration between political scientists in the United States and Africa. Application materials and workshop information can be found here.

**Marc F. Plattner**, director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy and coeditor of the *Journal of*

## Section News

*Democracy*, will be a Visiting Fellow at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford from January 16 – March 12, 2011. He will be working with the European Research Council's Project on Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Ellen Psychas**, adjunct professor of international relations, University of Maryland, defended her dissertation on "Building State Failure in Timor Leste: Patterns of Political Competition at Constraints to Private Sector Development (1999–2006)," with distinction at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced and International Studies. She has since designed and taught courses for the department of government at the University of Maryland.

**Scott Radnitz**, assistant professor of international studies, University of Washington, published *Weapons of the Wealthy: Predatory Regimes and Elite-Led Protests in Central Asia* (Cornell Press), which investigates the origins of mass protests to demonstrate that not all mass mobilizations are as they seem, but are often instruments of elites advancing narrow self-interests.

**William Reisinger**, professor and department chair of political science, University of Iowa, and **Bryon Moraski**, associate professor of political science, University of Florida, contributed a chapter on "Regional Changes and Changing Regional Relations with the Center" to *The Politics of Sub-National Authoritarianism in Russia*, edited by Vladimir Gel'man and Cameron Ross (Aldershot Ashgate). The authors seek to shed light on the less-examined sub-national features of an authoritarian Russian regime seeking to further centralize power and authority in a political system where regionalism and federalism remain key elements.

**Sybil Rhodes**, professor of political science and international relations, Universidad del CEMA, and Arus Harutyunyan published "Extending Citizenship to Emigrants: Democratic Contestation and a New Global Norm," in the September 2010 *International Political Science Review*. They argue for an increased link between literature on emigrant policies and general theoretical discussions of the expansion of formal citizenship on the premise that current emigrant demands for membership and voting rights mirror the patterns of citizenship extension that were experienced by previously excluded groups such as women and racial minorities.

**Graeme Robertson**, assistant professor of political science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, published *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes: Managing Dissent in Post-Communist Russia* (Cambridge University Press). Using previously unpublished data and considerable fieldwork in Russia, the book shows how the Russian regime manages political competition in the streets and throughout the country.

**Gulnaz Sharafutdinova**, assistant professor of political science, Miami University, published *Political Consequences of Crony Capitalism inside Russia* (University of Notre Dame Press), which examines the coexistence of crony capitalism and traditionally democratic institutions in Russia following the fall of communism. The result, according to the author, has been a distinct pattern of political evolution unique to Russia.

**Doron Shultziner**, visiting lecturer in political science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, published *Struggling for Recognition: The Psychological Impetus for Democratic Progress* (Continuum Press), in which he argues that the personal drive for recognition is a prime motivation behind

the pursuit of democracy, presenting an alternative theory to explain social and political changes.

**Jan Teorell**, associate professor of political science, Lund University, and visiting scholar at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University, published *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2005* (Cambridge University Press). Using both statistical analysis and case studies of the forces that shaped the third wave of democratization, the book argues that both long term structural forces and short term actor centric forces played key roles in these events.

**Gunes Murat Tezcur**, assistant professor of political science, Loyola University, published *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey: The Paradox of Moderation* (University of Texas Press), in which he shows that behavioral moderation pursued by Muslim political actors may counter-intuitively hinder democratization. He also published "When Democratization Radicalizes: The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey" in the November 2010 *Journal of Peace Research*.

**Tatu Vanhanen**, professor of political science, University of Helsinki, published "On the Evolutionary Limits of Democratization" in the Fall 2010 *The Mankind Quarterly*, in which he seeks to explain why persistent disparities continue to exist in the level and quality of democracy found throughout various political systems by arguing that evolved human diversity prevents greater global uniformity.

**Denise Walsh**, assistant professor of politics and studies in women and gender, University of Virginia, published *Women's Rights in Democratizing States: Just Debate and Gender Justice in the Public Sphere* (Cambridge University Press), in which she

## Section News

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argues that the quality of democracy in the public sphere shapes outcomes on women's rights legislation and may be applicable to other rights claims as well. She tests her argument through a series of structured, focused comparisons of democratizing Poland, Chile, and South Africa.

### 2010 AmericasBarometer Survey Available:

On December 1, 2010, LAPOP announced the completion and availability of the 2010 AmericasBarometer survey. The dataset contains national surveys of 26 countries in the Americas. Information on LAPOP and the AmericasBarometer can be found at [www.LapopSurveys.org](http://www.LapopSurveys.org) or [www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop](http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop). LAPOP has also published a regional report, "The Political Culture of Democracy, 2010: Report on the Americas," that is available in both English and in Spanish at [www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2010.php](http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2010.php). Country-specific monographs for many of the countries included in the 2010 AmericasBarometer are also available on that webpage for immediate and free download.

## CONFERENCE CALENDAR

The 2010 Melbourne Conference on "U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Middle East" was held at the **University of Melbourne** from October 21–22, 2010. This conference provided an opportunity to explore the record of US democracy promotion in the Middle East and deliberate on shifts in policy following the election of Barack Obama in 2009. The conference focused on the achievements and shortcomings of the George W. Bush era in promoting democracy in the region and the implications of that legacy for the Obama Administration. Exploring this legacy is critical to understanding the framework within which the Obama Administration operates. President Barack Obama has promised change in the way Washington relates to the Middle East. It is still unclear if these policy shifts can make a difference in the U.S. image and further the interests of the United States in the Middle East. More information on this conference can be found [here](#).

The **Midwestern Association for Latin American Studies** hosted its 60th annual conference on November 4–7, 2010. Held in St. Louis, Missouri, the meeting addressed a variety of topics in Latin America—including political change, democratic processes, and justice—and also included the MALAS business meeting and a lecture at the St. Louis Committee of the Council on Foreign Relations. Further information can be found [here](#).

On November 5–6, 2010, the **Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies** hosted its annual conference at Pepperdine University in Malibu, California. The conference brought together scholars and students interested in Latin America from across the disciplines. More information about the conference can be found [here](#).

The **Northeastern Political Science Association** held its 42nd annual meeting in Boston, Massachusetts on November 11–13, 2010. The theme of the conference was "Changing Politics, Changing Political Science." Conference panels of potential interest included Democratic Theory and Comparative Politics. Further information is available on the NPSA website.

The annual meeting of the **Middle East Studies Association** was held in San Diego, California on November 18–21, 2010. The meeting included a book exhibit and film festival as well as 26 panels on various topics, including "Iran: From Reform to Protest," "Comparing Authoritarianism Inside and Outside Middle East," "Democratization in the Middle East," "Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Muslim World," "Electoral Politics in the Middle East," "Judicialized Politics or Politicized Judiciaries?" and "Civil Society and Democracy Reconsidered." A full conference program can be found [here](#).

On November 18–21, 2010, the **American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies** held its 2010 convention in Los Angeles, California. The theme of the convention was "War and Peace." Through this theme, the conference explored topics including the reasons why societies make war and peace and the effect of war and peace in shaping regional societies. It brought together scholars interested in Eastern and Central Europe and Central Asia to engage in interdisciplinary and comparative discussions. The conference website includes additional information and a convention program.

The **New Zealand Political Studies Association** 2010 Conference was held on December 2–3, 2010, at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand.



## Conference Calendar

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The conference, hosted by the University of Waikato's Political Science and Public Policy department, included panels on New Zealand's government and comparative politics, public policy, international relations, and political theory. General information about the conference can be found [here](#).

The **University of Warwick** hosted the "Challenging Orthodoxies: The Critical Governance Studies" conference on December 13–14, 2010. The goal of the conference was to bring together scholars and critical practitioners challenging orthodoxies and developing critical approaches to the study and practice of governance. The conference theme was 'challenging orthodoxies' and participants were encouraged to address it in abstracts by describing a problematic orthodoxy, subjecting it to critical challenge and outlining new areas of inquiry and new social practices based on the critical approach. More information can be found [here](#).

The second annual Conference on "Democracy as an Idea and Practice" was held at the **University of Oslo** from January 13–14, 2011, and brought together researchers from the humanities, social sciences and law. The conference was organized with seven workshops, including on subjects such as "Organizational Democracy," "Constitutional Democracy: How Democratic?" "Democracy and Censorship," and "Practices and Experiences of Democracy in Post-Colonial Localities." More information can be found [here](#).

The 2011 **IPSA-ECPR Joint Conference** will be held in Sao Paulo, Brazil from February 16–19. The conference will include panels on the role of constitutional courts in the process of democratization and the degree to which courts can be used to

protect and promote human rights and the rule of law. The conference aims to increase empirical knowledge, while also focusing on comparative institutionalism as a shared research perspective. More information can be found [here](#).

On March 16–19, 2011, the **International Studies Association** will hold its annual convention in Montreal, Canada. The theme of this year's meeting is "Global Governance: Political Authority in Transition." Among the many featured panels are "Democracy, Development and Governance in the 21st Century: New Ways of Measuring and Conceptualizing Democracy," "International Organizations and Democracy Promotion," and "The Chinese Puzzle: Democracy vs Autocracy." More information about the conference, including a full program, can be found [here](#).

Hosted by the **University of Connecticut**, the 3rd annual "Graduate Student Conference on Democracy and Governance" will be held on March 25–26, 2011. The conference's goal is to bring together graduate students from all fields of political science as well as related fields to present research projects, exchange ideas, and create a network of emerging democracy and governance scholars. A monetary prize will be given to the winner of the Annual Graduate Student Conference Best Paper Award. More information can be found [here](#).

On April 19–21, 2011, the **Political Science Association of the UK** will host its 61st annual conference on "Transforming Politics: New Synergies" in London. Featured panels include "Comparing Deliberative Institutions," "Democracy and Governance," "Democracy in Latin America," and "Democracy in Question: On Deliberation, Reason and a Democratic Paradox." More information on the

conference can be found [here](#).

## NEW RESEARCH

### *Journal of Democracy*

The **January 2011** (Volume 22, no. 1) issue of the *Journal of Democracy* features clusters of articles on the impact of the economic crisis and Latin America, as well individual studies of Arab culture, Hong Kong, Arab Islamists, government power in Africa, and two essays by Nobel Peace Prize Winner Liu Xiaobo. The full text of selected articles and the tables of contents of all issues are available on the *Journal's* website.

"The Split in Arab Culture" by Hicham Ben Abdallah El Alaoui

*A powerful "salafist" public norm has taken root in the Arab world, becoming the main symbol of resistance to Westernization. At the same time, however, new cultural forces in the private domain are promoting a dynamic of secularization.*

### The Impact of the Economic Crisis

I. "Why Democracies Survive" by Larry Diamond

*As an analysis of recent electoral results shows, the world's emerging democracies are weathering the global economic crisis surprisingly well. Yet they remain under an even sharper threat from their own failures to deliver good governance.*

II. "From the G-8 to the G-20" by Marc F. Plattner

*The financial crisis did not deal a fatal blow to any democracies, but it did hasten an erosion of the influence of the West. In the future, the balance of power among competing regime types may be decided by the emerging-market democracies.*

"Latin America's Growing Security Gap" by David Pion-Berlin and Harold Trinkunas

*Striking the right balance between*

## New Research

*freedom and security is hard, especially in Latin America. Hybrid forces combining military and police elements may be the best means for meeting security challenges without imperiling freedom.*

“Hong Kong’s Democrats Divide” by Ngok Ma

*For the first time ever in the history of Hong Kong, local democratic leaders and Chinese officials have forged a pact on limited democratic reforms. That may have marked a step forward for the cause of democracy in Hong Kong, but it has also led to a sharp split in the democratic camp.*

“Arab Islamists: Losing on Purpose?” by Shadi Hamid

*In most Arab countries, Islamist groups are the only ones with the popular support needed to win free and fair elections. Yet Islamist parties have shown an ambivalence about, and in some cases, even an aversion to seeking power via the ballot box.*

“Building Democracy While Building Peace” by Christoph Zürcher

*Why are peacebuilding operations rarely able to establish postconflict democracies, and are there other strategies that would yield more successes?*

“Constraining Government Power in Africa” by Migai Akech

*African politics is often characterized as a realm of “informality,” but formal rules and institutions actually loom large, especially with regard to overweening executive power and the reforms that may help to rein it in.*

### Latin America

I. “A Surge to the Center” by Michael Shifter

*The left-right ideological divide has begun to narrow in Latin America as citizens and leaders increasingly choose a pragmatic approach to politics and embrace the rules of the democratic game.*

II. “A Setback for Chávez” by Javier Corrales

*Hugo Chávez has been running a bounded competitive-authoritarian regime for some time, but its ability to compete is now slipping. Will this tend to make it less authoritarian—or even more so?*

III. “Colombia After Uribe” by Eduardo Posada-Carbó

*Often thought of as a “nascent” democracy, Colombia actually has long-standing democratic institutions. In 2010, they were effective in determining who would succeed a highly popular, two-term president.*

“Two Essays on China’s Quest for Democracy” by Liu Xiaobo

*Imprisoned Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo, who was awarded the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize, is best known for his eloquent and incisive essays. Two of them are featured here: “Can It Be That the Chinese People Deserve Only ‘Party-Led Democracy?’” and “Changing the Regime by Changing Society.”*

### Democratization

The **October 2010** (Volume 17, no. 5) *Democratization* features articles on civil society in Central Asia, post-civil war democratization, Timor-Leste, Malaysia, the Western Balkans, and civilian control of the military in emerging democracies.

“Civil Society, Political Stability, and State Power in Central Asia: Cooperation and Contestation” by Charles E. Ziegler

“Post-Civil War Democratization: Promotion of Democracy in Post-Civil War States, 1946–2005” by Madhav Joshi

“Undermining Cooperation: Donor-Patrons and the Failure of Political Conditionality” by Nikolas Emmanuel

“New Version of the Kirkpatrick Doctrine in the Post-Soviet Space” by Povilas Žielys

“Democracy or Democracy? Local Experiences of Democratization in Timor-Leste” by Deborah Cummins

“Malaysia: Towards a Topology of an Electoral One-Party State” by Chin-Huat Wong; James Chin; and Norani Othman

“Beyond the Fallacy of Coup-ism: Conceptualizing Civilian Control of the Military in Emerging Democracies” by Aurel Croissant; David Kuehn; Paul Chambers; and Siegfried O. Wolf

“Dilemmas of Implementation: EU Democracy Assistance in the Mediterranean” by Federica Bicchì

“The State-in-Society Approach to the Study of Democratization with Examples from Japan” by Mary Alice Haddad

“Assessing International Aid for Local Governance in the Western Balkans” by Paula M. Pickering

The **December 2010** (Volume 17, no. 6) *Democratization* is a special issue on political party assistance and features articles on Georgia and Ukraine, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, El Salvador and Cambodia, Morocco, and Malawi and Zambia.

“Promoting Party Politics in Emerging Democracies” by Peter Burnell and André Gerrits

“Party Politics in Georgia and Ukraine and the Failure of Western Assistance” by Max Bader

“Crossing the Line: Partisan Party Assistance in post-Milošević Serbia” by Marlene Spoerri

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New Research

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“Why Did They Vote for Those Guys Again?’ Challenges and Contradictions in the Promotion of Political Moderation in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina” by John W. Hulsey

“An Uneasy Symbiosis: The Impact of International Administrations on Political Parties in Post-Conflict Countries” by Maja Nenadović

“Sons of War’: Parties and Party Systems in Post-War El Salvador and Cambodia” by Jeroen de Zeeuw

“Problems of Party Assistance in Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Morocco” by Nicole Bolleyer and Lise Storm

“Political Party Assistance in Transition: The German ‘Stiftungen’ in Sub-Saharan Africa” by Kristina Weissenbach

“In Search of the Impact of International Support for Political Parties in New Democracies: Malawi and Zambia Compared” by Lise Rakner and Lars Svasand

“Political Party Assistance and Political Party Research: Towards a Closer Encounter?” by Gero Erdmann

### SELECTED JOURNAL ARTICLES ON DEMOCRACY

This section features selected articles on democracy that appeared in journals received by the NED’s Democracy Resource Center, October 1, 2010–January 1, 2011.

*African Affairs*, Vol. 109, no. 437, October 2010

“Elections and Democratic Transition in Nigeria under the Fourth Republic” by J. Shola Omotola

“Troubles at the Top: South African Protests and the 2002 Johannesburg

Summit” by Carl Death

“Democracy and Civil War: Citizenship and Peacemaking in Côte d’Ivoire” by Abu Bakarr Bah

“Crude Days Ahead? Oil and the Resource Curse in Sudan” by Luke A. Patey

“You’re Either with Us or Against Us’: Civil Society and Policy Making in Post-Genocide Rwanda” by Paul Gready

*American Political Science Review*, Vol. 104, no. 3, August 2010

“International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict” by Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells

“Regime Change and Revolutionary Entrepreneurs” by Ethan Bueno de Mesquita

“Nodding or Needling: Analyzing Delegate Responsiveness in an Authoritarian Parliament” by Edmund Malesky and Paul Schuler

*Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 29, no. 3, September 2010

“Political Mobilization and the Construction of Collective Identity in Mongolia” by David Sneath

“Nomadism, Identity, and the Politics of Conservation” by Caroline Upton

*China Information*, Vol. XXIV, no. 3, November 2010

“Understanding the Autonomy of Hong Kong from Historical and Comparative Perspectives” by Ray Yep

“Revisiting the Golden Era of MacLehose and the Dynamics of Social Reforms” by Ray Yep and Tai-Lok Lui

“Fiscal Freedom and the Making of Hong Kong’s Capitalist Society” by Leo F. Goodstadt

“Judicial Autonomy in Hong Kong” by Benny Y.T. Tai

“One Country, Two Systems’ and Its Antagonists in Tibet and Taiwan” by Ho-Fund Hung and Huei-ying Kuo

“Central-Provincial Relations amid Greater Centralization in China” by Lam Tao-chiu

*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 3, September 2010

“Ethnic Peace, Ethnic Conflict: Complexity Theory on Why the Baltic Is not the Balkans” by Walter C. Clemens Jr.

“Lustration after Totalitarianism: Poland’s Attempt to Reconcile with its Communist Past” by Matt Killingsworth

“Nationalism, Identity and Civil Society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution” by Taras Kuzio

“Ethnic Competition, Radical Islam, and Challenges to Stability in the Republic of Dagestan” by Edward C. Holland and John O’Loughlin

“Differential Voter Turnout in a Post-communist Muslim Society: The Case of the Kyrgyz Republic” by Benjamin Darr and Vicki Hesli

*Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 44, no. 1, January 2011

“Do Migrants Improve their Hometowns? Remittances and Access to Public Services in Mexico, 1995–2000” by Claire L. Adida and Desha M. Girod

“The Nature, Determinants, and Consequences of Chávez’s Charisma:



## New Research

Evidence From a Study of Venezuelan Public Opinion" by Jennifer L. Merolla and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister

"The Role of Executive Time Horizons in State Response to AIDS in Africa" by Kim Yi Dionne

"Creating a Capable Bureaucracy With Loyalists: The Internal Dynamics of the South Korean Developmental State, 1948–1979" by Yong-Chool Ha and Myung-koo Kang

***Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 12, December 2010**

"Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach" by Ben Ansell and David Samuels

"Incentives for Personal Votes and Women's Representation in Legislatures" by Frank C. Thames and Margaret S. Williams

"Perceptions of Electoral Fairness and Voter Turnout" by Sarah Birch

"Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency" by Paul Staniland

"Citizens' Perceptions of Government Responsiveness in Africa: Do Electoral Systems and Ethnic Diversity Matter?" by Wonbin Cho

***Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 11, November 2010**

"Islam and Large-Scale Political Violence: Is There a Connection?" by M. Steven Fish, Francesca R. Jensenius, and Katherine E. Michel

"Obstinate and Inefficient: Why Member States Do Not Comply with European Law" by Tanja A. Börzel, Tobias Hofmann, Diana Panke, and Carina Sprungk

"Who's In Charge? President,

Assemblies, and the Political Control of Semipresidential Cabinets" by Petra Schleiter and Edward Morgan-Jones

"Modernization, Islam, or Social Capital: What Explains Attitudes toward Democracy in the Muslim World?" by Sabri Ciftci

***Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 10, October 2010**

"Do Ethnic Parties Exclude Women?" by Stephanie S. Holmsten, Robert G. Moser, and Mary C. Slosar

"Political Competition as an Obstacle to Judicial Independence: Evidence from Russia and Ukraine" by Maria Popova

"Why Get Technical? Corruption and the Politics of Public Service Reform in the Indian States" by Jennifer L. Bussell

"Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence from Mexico" by Stephen D. Morris and Joseph L. Klesner

***Current History*, Vol. 109, no. 731, December 2010**

"The Mideast after Iran Gets the Bomb" by Bruce Riedel

"The Rise and Fall of Political Reform in the Arab World" by Marina Ottaway

"Iraq Struggles to Govern Itself" by Daniel Serwer

"Fragile State: Yemen in Conflict" by Lucas Winter

"The Paradox of Visibility: Gay in the Middle East" by Brian Whitaker

***Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 18, no. 4, Fall 2010**

"Rising Armenian-Georgian Tensions and the Possibility of a New Ethnic Conflict in the South Caucasus" by

Artyom Tonoyan

"Struggling for Citizenship: Civic Participation and the State of Russia" by Suvi Salmenniemi

"Higher Education Reforms in the Fight against Corruption in Georgia" by Mariam Orkodashvili

***East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 24, no. 4, Fall 2010**

"The Issue of Genocidal Intent and Denial of Genocide: A Case Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina" by Edina Bećirević

"Why Was the Monarchy Not Restored in Post-Communist Bulgaria?" by Rossen Vassilev

"Minarets after Marx: Islam, Communist Nostalgia, and the Common Good in Postsocialist Bulgaria" by Kristen Ghodsee

"Ask for Bread, not Peace': Reactions of Romanian Workers and Peasants to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956" by Johanna Granville

"Raspberries, Tablecloths, and Critical Thinking: Accountability Reforms in Post-Socialist Latvia" by Liene Ozolina

"Explaining Difficult States: The Problems of Europeanization in Serbia" by Jelena Subotić

***Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 32, no. 4, November 2010**

"Inscribing Abortion as a Human Right: Significance of the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa" by Charles G. Ngwenya

"Mugabe's Zimbabwe, 2000–2009: Massive Human Rights Violations and the Failure to Protect" by Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann



"The Justice Balance: When Transitional Justice Improves Human Rights and Democracy" by Tricia D. Olsen, Leigh A. Payne, and Andrew G. Reiter

***Insight Turkey*, Vol. 12, no. 4, 2010**

"Turkey's Role in the Middle East: An Outsider's Perspective" by Volker Perthes

"Constitutional Referendum: Farewell to the 'Old Turkey'" by Doğu Ergil

"Democratization and Europeanization in Turkey after the September 12 Referendum" by Emiliano Alessandri

"The New Leader for the Old CHP: Kernal Kiliçdaroğlu" by Tanju Tosun

"Turkey's Illiberal Judiciary: Cases and Decisions" by Vahap Coşkun

"Constitutional Court: Its Limits to Shape Turkish Politics" by Cenap Cakmak and Cengiz Dinç

"The Armenian Community and the AK Party: Finding Trust under the Crescent" by Vahram Ter-Matevosyan

"Turkey's Darfur Policy: Convergences and Differentiations from the Muslim World" by Mehmet Özkan and Birol Akgün

***Insight Turkey*, Vol. 12, no. 3, 2010**

"Turkey's Iran Policy: Between Diplomacy and Sanctions" by Kadir Üstün

"Unblocking Turkey's EU Accession" by Nathalie Tocci

***Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 26, no. 4, December 2010**

"Network Mobilization and the Origins of the Putin Coalition" by Andrew Buck

"Authoritarian Regimes of Russia and Tatarstan: Coexistence and Subjection" by V.V. Mikhailov

"Reopening the Wounds of History? The Foreign Policy of the 'Fourth' Polish Republic" by Christopher Reeves

***Journal of East Asia Studies*, Vol. 10, no. 3, September–December 2010**

"Political Conflict Resolution and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia: The Role of the Constitutional Court" by Marcus Mietzner

"The Quality of Social Capital and Political Participation in South Korea" by Aie-Rie Lee

***Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 48, no. 4, December 2010**

"Turkey's Opening to Africa" by Mehmet Ozkan

"Civil Society and the Consolidation of Democracy in Kenya: An Analysis of a Catholic Parish's Efforts in Kibera Slum" by Christine Bodewes

"Youth Music and Politics in Post-War Sierra Leone" by Susan Shepler

"Troubled State-Building in the DR Congo: The Challenge from the Margins" by Denis M. Tull

***Middle East Journal*, Vol. 64, no. 4, Autumn 2010**

"The Rise of Politicized Shi'ite Religiosity and the Territorial State in Iraq and Lebanon" by Yusri Hazran

"The Ayatollah's Praetorians: The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and the 2009 Election Crisis" by Ali-Rehig-Aghsan and Peter Viggo Jakobsen

"The Dynamics of Palestinian Political Endurance in Lebanon" by Rami Siklawi

***Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 54, no. 4, Fall 2010**

"Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Straight Relations and U.S. Policy" by Jacques deLisle

"The Rise of Chinese Power and the Implications for the Regional Security Order" by Robert S. Boss

"Status and Leadership on the Korean Peninsula" by David C. Kang

"Suffering What It Must? Mongolia and the Power of the 'Weak'" by Alan M. Wachman

"Is Russia Succeeding in Central Asia?" by Martin C. Spechler and Dina R. Spechler

"National and Human Security in Sub-Saharan Africa" by James J. Hentz

"The International Criminal Court: Time to Adjust U.S. Foreign Policy" by Scott F. Zippich

***Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 83, no. 4, December 2010**

"Historical Disputes and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The U.S. Role" by Gi-Wook Shin

"Weakness and Gambits in Philippine Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century" by Renato Cruz De Castro

***Party Politics*, Vol. 16, no. 5, September 2010**

"Fighting the Last War: Applying the Policy Transfer Approach to Election Campaigns" by Catherine Needham

"Assessing the Impact of Campaign Finance on Party System Institutionalization" by Eric Booth and Joseph Robbins

"Party Platforms and Party Coalitions: The Christian Right and State-Level Republicans" by Kimberly H. Conger

## New Research

"Parties and Social Protest in Latin America's Neoliberal Era" by Moisés Arce

### ***Party Politics*, Vol. 16, no. 6, November 2010**

"The Multidimensional Nature of Party Competition" by Jeremy J. Albright

"How Intra-Party Power Relations Affect the Coalition Behaviour of Political Parties" by Helene Helboe Pedersen

"Understanding Party Constitutions as Responses to Specific Challenges" by Rodney Smith and Anika Gauja

"A Supply-Demand Model of Party-System Institutionalization: The Russian Case" by Richard Rose and William Mishler

### ***Representation*, Vol. 46, no. 4, November 2010**

"Electoral Administration and Voter Turnout: Towards an International Public Policy Continuum" by Toby James

"Representation as Claims-Making: Quid Responsiveness?" by Eline Severs

"Citizens and their Understandings and Evaluations of Representation: Introducing an Interpretive Approach to the Study of Citizen Attitudes towards Politics" by Margit van Wessel

"Elections and the Internet: On the Difficulties of 'Upgrading' Elections in the Digital Era" by Fernando Mendez

"The European Parliament Election in Bulgaria, 7 June 2009" by Lyubka Savkova

### ***Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 37, no. 125, September 2010**

"The Extraversion of Protest: Conditions, History, and Use of the

'International' in Africa" by Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle

"Internal Dynamics, the State, and Recourse to External Aid: Towards a Historical Sociology of the Peasant Movement in Senegal since the 1960s" by Marie Hrabanski

"Peasant Struggles in Mali: From Defending Cotton Producers' Interests to Becoming Part of the Malian Power Structures" by Alexis Roy

"The Politicisation of Sexuality and Rise of Homosexual Movements in Post-Colonial Cameroon" by Patrick Awondo

"Claiming Workers' Rights in the Democratic Republic of Congo: The Case of the Collectif des ex-agents de la Gécamines" by Benjamin Rubbers

"West African Social Movements 'Against the High Cost of Living': From the Economic to the Political, From the Global to the National" by Bénédicte Maccatory, Makama Bawa Oumarou and Marc Poncelet

"Sudan's 2010 Elections: Victories, Boycotts and the Future of a Peace Deal" by Edward Thomas

### ***World Politics*, Vol. 62, no. 4, October 2010**

"Looking Like a Winner: Candidate Appearance and Electoral Success in New Democracies" by Chappell Lawson, Gabriel S. Lenz, Andy Baker, and Michael Myers

"Varieties of Electioneering: Success Contagion and Presidential Campaigns in Latin America" by Taylor C. Boas

"Mobilizing Restraint: Economic Reform and the Politics of Industrial Protest in South Asia" by Emmanuel Teitelbaum

## **SELECTED NEW BOOKS ON DEMOCRACY**

### **ADVANCED DEMOCRACIES**

*Against Reform.* By John Pepall. University of Toronto Press, 2010. 164 pp.

*American Foundations: Roles and Contributions.* Edited by Helmut K. Anheier and David C. Hammack. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. 457 pp.

*The CDU and the Politics of Gender in Germany: Bringing Women to the Party.* By Sarah Elise Wiliarty. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 267 pp.

*The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America.* By David Domke and Kevin Coe. Oxford University Press, 2010. 243 pp.

*Joe Biden: A Life of Trial and Redemption.* By Jules Witcover. William Morrow, 2010. 536 pp.

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# APSA-CD

is the official newsletter of the American Political Science Association's Comparative Democratization section. Formerly known as CompDem, it has been published three times a year (October, January, and May) by the National Endowment for Democracy's International Forum for Democratic Studies since 2003. In October 2010, the newsletter was renamed APSA-CD and expanded to include substantive articles on democracy, as well as news and notes on the latest developments in the field. The newsletter is now jointly produced and edited by faculty members of the University of Florida's Department of Political Science and the International Forum.

The current issue of APSA-CD is available here. A complete archive of past issues is also available.

To inquire about submitting an article to APSA-CD, please contact Michael Bernhard or Melissa Aten.

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**Diego Abente Brun** is deputy director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. Prior to joining the Forum, Mr. Abente served as a professor of sociology and politics at Catholic University in Asunción, Paraguay, where he had taught since 1994, as a senior research fellow at the Centro de Análisis y Difusión de la Economía Paraguaya, and as an associate professor of political science at Miami University from 1984 to 1992. Mr. Abente-Brun has published and edited several books and his work has also appeared in numerous academic journals, including the *Journal of Democracy*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, and *Latin American Research Review*.

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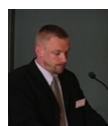
**Kate Baldwin** is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Florida and a fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at Princeton University. She studies state-building, clientelism, and the political economy of development with a regional focus on sub-Saharan Africa. Her current research projects seek to understand the political consequences of involving non-state actors, such as traditional chiefs and non-governmental organizations, in the provision of goods and services.



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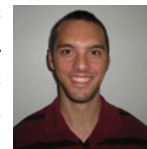
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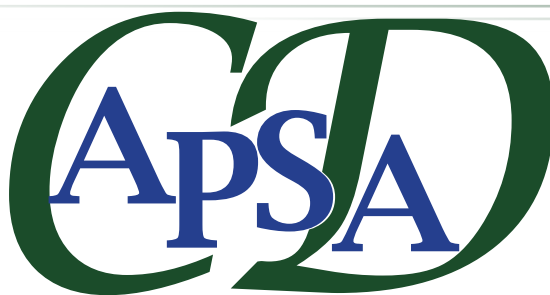


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